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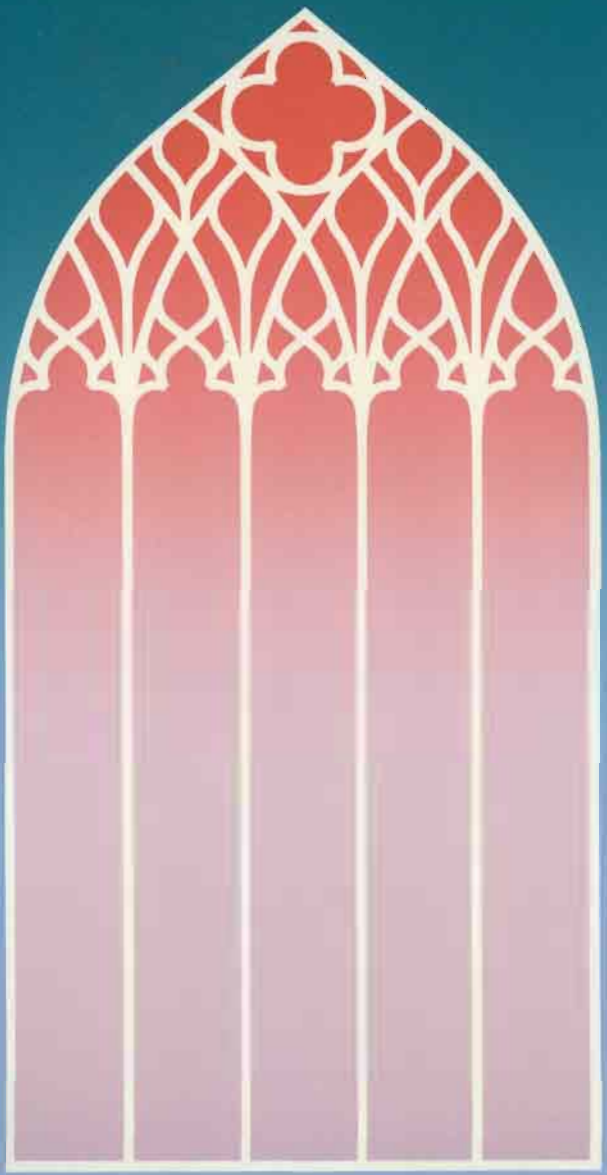

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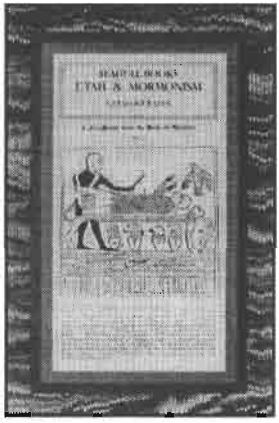

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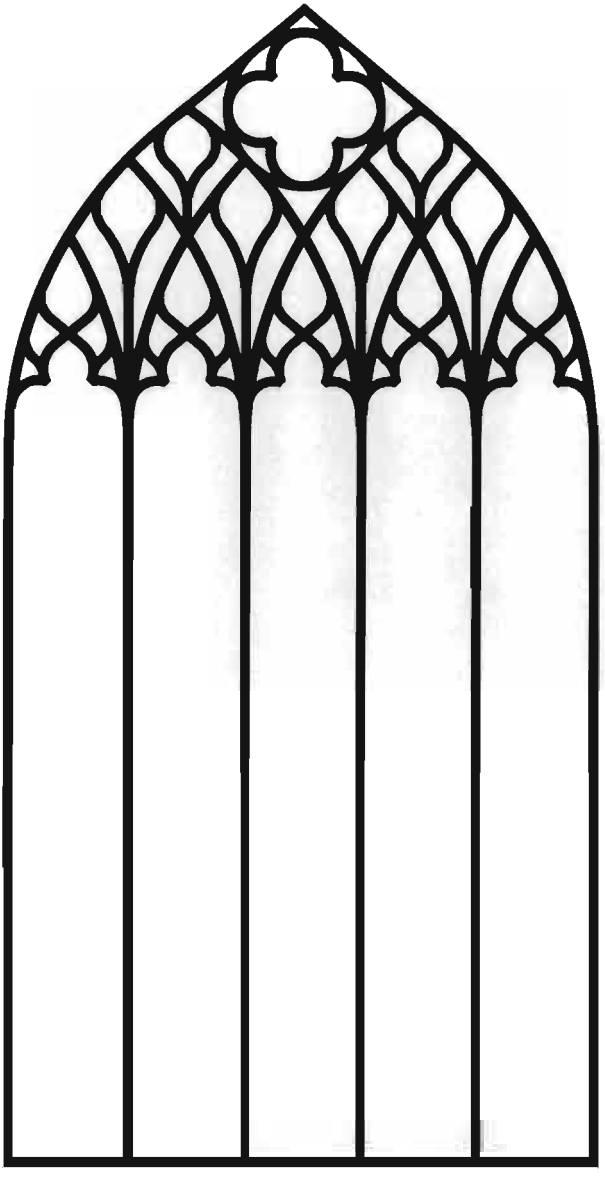

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COVER: Abstraction of the window tracery, Salt Lake City Tenth Ward. Design by Warren Archer.

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LETTERS

The Journal of Mormon History *welcomes comments on articles and book reviews, queries about Mormon history topics, additional information on subjects covered in the* Journal, *and ideas that will help us make future issues more interesting, stimulating, and valuable to readers. We will consider letters that are one or two typewritten, double- spaced pages; occasionally, a longer letter may be important enough to print as an exception to this policy. Because of limited space, we must reserve the right to select letters to be published and to edit them. Send letters to the Letters Editor,* Journal of Mormon History, *Box 581068, Salt Lake City, UT 84158–1068.*

Outside the Pale?

After reading Michael W. Homer's very well-written paper, "Masonry and Mormonism in Utah, 1847–1984," I have these comments:

The "unwritten" policy of the Grand Lodge of Utah barring LDS members automatically placed it outside the pale of regularity, and I must question if it was ever a Masonic body.

While a brief mention was made of Matthew McBlain Thomson, who enjoyed our hospitality here at Leavenworth, his organization, the American Masonic Federation, claimed descent from a lodge in New Orleans which was 100 percent African-American, though not recognized by the Black Prince Hall Masonic family that I represent. While the Utah Grand Lodge would call the Thomson group irregular, which it clearly was, it did have lodges that consisted of blacks, unlike the Utah Grand Lodge which also has an "unwritten" policy against African Americans.

Homer listed several possible reasons for the decline in Masonic membership in Utah. I suggest that another is that most Americans today do not want their name to be associated with any hate group. It is difficult for me not to see its exclusionary policies as bigotry and, to the extent that this is so, the lodge itself as un-American.

Furthermore, as an African-American, an active LDS member, and president of the Phylaxis Society, a literary society of Prince Hall Freemasons, I fully agree with Mervin B. Hogan that the temple ceremonies cannot be referred to as Masonic.

Joseph A. Walkes, Jr.
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

Michael Homer Reponds

Although Joseph A. Walkes, Jr., correctly points out that Freemasonry has created divisions on racial grounds, this is not unique to Freemasonry or to the Grand Lodge of Utah. Until 1978, blacks were prohibited from being ordained to the Mormon priesthood. Other religious groups and fraternal organizations have had similar prohibitions. In addition, the historical separation of black and white grand lodges is not limited to the Grand Lodge of Utah. The practice began in colonial America.

Joseph A. Walkes is well known in

Masonic circles and has been recognized by one Masonic writer, Christopher Haffner, as a "prominent Prince Hall writer." Haffner, who refers to the problems articulated by Walkes as one of the saddest of Freemasonry, explains in his recent book, *Workmen Unashamed* (London: Lewis Masonic, 1989) the historical background of Prince Hall Masonry and the legal impediments which make a solution more difficult:

> A group of fifteen Blacks received a warrant dated 1784 from the Premiere Grand Lodge of England, to form a lodge to be known as African Lodge numbered 459. It was not invited to take part with lodges consisting of Caucasians in the new Grand Lodge of Massachusetts in 1792, and continued in existence owing a nominal allegiance to England. Under the leadership of a preacher called Prince Hall, it assumed the role of a Grand Lodge and chartered lodges of Blacks elsewhere in east of the States. However, along with all lodges in the new United States under England, it was erased from the rolls following the union of 1813. [Citation deleted]
>
> From this has evolved Prince Hall Masonry, a completely independent Masonic organisation with Grand Lodges in each of the United States, in Canada, the West Indies and Liberia, as well as individual lodges overseas in places like England and Scotland, where ever there are American military bases. There are many separate, clandestine Negro lodges and Grand Lodges, but the Prince Hall affiliation Grand Lodges are generally accepted as exhibiting all of the characteristics of regularity apart from the technical difficulty of their separate existence in places where another Grand Lodge is already recognised.

It must be acknowledged that there are many racists in American masonry. Their position has been strengthened in recent years by four writers, humorously called "the Gang of Four" by the prominent Prince Hall writer, Joseph Walkes, Jr. They have emphasised all the points in the history of Prince Hall Masonry which would by present day standards be treated as "irregular," even though no American jurisdiction – regular or otherwise – could stand up to the same scrutiny applied to the early period of its existence. By this emphasis, they seek to cast doubt on the regular origin and continued existence of the Prince Hall fraternity.

There have always been masons in both camps who have felt strongly about hypocrisy of this division, and have done their best to mitigate its effects. There are, of course, many Blacks in regular Masonry around the world, including some in America. There are also whites in Prince Hall Masonry. Many regular white masons in America have supported Prince Hall Masonry in court cases against spurious imitations. . . .

The fact is, that after two hundred years of separate existence, the Prince Hall Masons have developed traditions and characteristics of their own which they feel would get lost if unity were to be sought. Many would prefer to be recognized as separate but equal. (Walkes: Black Square). The problem at once be-

> comes one of Masonic legality: how can two Grand Lodges professing a proper concern for unity be recognised as authentic within the same territory[?] The way that American Masonic law has developed makes this virtually impossible, even if there have been many precedents in Europe. It is devoutly to be hoped that the more creative minds in the United States will be able to see some solution in the near future. (pp. 23–25)

Even though many Masonic observers agree with some of the points raised in Walkes's letter, he is wrong when he asserts that the Grand Lodge of Utah was "outside the pale of regularity" and questions whether "it was ever a Masonic body." The fact is that the Grand Lodge of Utah has always been recognized (even when it did not permit Mormons to become members) by every Grand Lodge in the United States and by the United Grand Lodge of England as "legal" and "regular" Masonry. Thus, according to standards adopted by Masonry in the United States and Great Britain, the Grand Lodge of Utah has always been "regular" and Walkes's comments must be understood in the context of his own personal definition "regular" or "masonic."

Finally, the scope of my paper did not include any analysis of Mervin Hogan's statement that the temple ceremony cannot be referred to as masonic or arguments that the Book of Mormon contains anti-Masonic references. D. Michael Quinn briefly discusses the charge that the temple ceremony is a plagiarism of Freemasonry, provides some references and concludes that it is not. See *Early Mormonism and the World Magic View* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 184–86, 190. The most recent discussion of the theory that the Book of Mormon contains many references to Masonry is contained in Daniel C. Peterson, "Notes on 'Gadianton Masonry,'" in *Warfare in the Book of Mormon*, edited by Steven D. Ricks and William J. Hamblin (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company; Provo: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1990), 174–224.

Michael W. Homer
Salt Lake City

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

SEEKING THE "REMNANT": THE NATIVE AMERICAN DURING THE JOSEPH SMITH PERIOD

Ronald W. Walker

O stop and tell me, Red Man,
Who are ye? why you roam?
And how you get your living?
Have you no God;– no home?

–W. W. Phelps[1]

RECENT SCHOLARS HAVE largely set aside the Native American as an important force in early Restoration history, 1830–44. After telling the familiar story of Oliver Cowdery's 1830–31 Lamanite mission, most writers either grow quiet on the topic or say that Joseph Smith and other Mormon leaders became preoccupied with more pressing things. But the evidence supports another view. First-generation leaders, while not always having the freedom to interact with the Indian as they wished, consistently sought the Native American "remnant" of Jacob. This argument, more than revising a familiar historical tenet, provides a window through which to view early

RONALD W. WALKER is a Senior Research Fellow at the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History, Brigham Young University, where he also serves as a Professor of History. Parts of this paper were read as the presidential address at the Mormon History Association annual meeting, May 1992, in St. George, Utah.

[1]W. W. Phelps, "The Red Man," in W. W. Phelps to Oliver Cowdery, 6 November 1834, Letter No. 2, *Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate* 1 (1 December 1834): 34. The poem later became the lyrics for Hymn no. 63 in *A Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints*, selected by Emma Smith (Kirtland, Ohio: F. G. Williams & Co., 1835), 83–84.

Mormonism. It shows the millennial spirit of the movement's first years, helps to explain the intensity of early anti-Mormonism, and reveals one of the reasons why the Mormon hegira took the path it did. Finally, it suggests that the Book of Mormon, which lay at the heart of the original disciples' view of the Indian, was more than a theoretical handbook. It actually affected how Mormons thought and what they did.[2]

There is no mistaking the importance of the Indian during the earliest part of Joseph Smith's ministry. His first and greatest revelation was the Book of Mormon, which was not just a record of the "Lamanite" or Native American people, but a highly unusual manifesto of their destiny. Historians may find plenty of parallels in the Indian doctrines of various seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century preachers and philanthropists,[3] but Joseph Smith taught something so unique for its time as to be inflammatory. The Indians, descendants of the Old Testament prophet Israel, would in the last days once more be joined into the ancient Israelite covenant. Redeemed to the Christian fold and blossoming "like a rose,"[4] the Indian "remnant" would play a fearful role in the final end of things. The Book of Mormon taught not simply Indian redemption but Indian cataclysm.

This Native American heritage and destiny was repeated in one Book of Mormon refrain after another, starting in the book's preface and working

[2]Examples of the literature minimizing the role of the Indians on early Mormon events include Lawrence G. Coates, "A History of Indian Education by the Mormons, 1830–1900" (Ed.D. diss., Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana, 1969), 55–62; Keith Parry, "Joseph Smith and the Clash of Sacred Cultures," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Winter 1985): 67–74; G. St. John Stott, "New Jerusalem Abandoned: The Failure to Carry Mormonism to the Delaware," *Journal of American Studies* 21 (April 1987): 79–82; and Floyd A. O'Neil, "The Mormons, the Indians, and George Washington Bean," in *Churchmen and Western Indians, 1820–1920*, edited by Clyde A. Milner II and Floyd A. O'Neil (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 77–107. Other scholars have found the Book of Mormon's influence limited on early happenings: Richard Bushman, "The Book of Mormon in Early Mormon History," in *New Views of Mormon History: A Collection of Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington*, edited by Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 3–18 and Grant Underwood, "Book of Mormon Usage in Early LDS Theology," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 (Autumn 1984): 35–74.

[3]Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon: Religious Solutions from Columbus to Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986) treats many of these non-Mormon views of the Native American.

[4]Book of Commandments LII:23–26 (LDS Doctrine and Covenants [hereafter cited as D&C] 49:24–28); Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1951 printing), 1:189.

to an apex in the post-resurrection ministry of Jesus to the early American inhabitants.[5] "The Father hath commanded me that I should give unto you this land," he stated.

> And I say unto you, that if the Gentiles [Euro-Americans] do not repent after the blessing which they shall receive [of having the Gospel restored to them], after they have scattered my people—
>
> Then shall ye, who are a remnant of the house of Jacob, go forth among them, and ye shall be in the midst of them who shall be many; and ye shall be among them as a lion among the beasts of the forest, and as a young lion among the flocks of sheep, who, if he goeth through both treadeth down and teareth in pieces, and none can deliver.
>
> Thy hand shall be lifted up upon thine adversaries, and all thine enemies shall be cut off.[6]

Were these stirring and violent images just another example of Christian eschatological metaphor? On the contrary, Joseph Smith and the first-generation Mormons proceeded on the assumption of their literal meaning. "The Book of Mormon is a record of the forefathers of our western Tribes of Indians," Smith wrote to N. C. Saxton, editor of a Rochester, New York, newspaper. "The land of America is a promised land unto them," where they would be instrumental in building a New Jerusalem. And, not as an afterthought, Smith added this proviso: "I am prepared to say by the authority of Jesus Christ, that not many years shall pass away before the United States shall present such a scene of *bloodshed* as had not a parallel in the history of our nation."[7] Smith's 1832 Civil War prophecy's confirmed the relationship between the predicted carnage and the Indian. "The remnants who are left of the land will marshall themselves," it declared, "and shall become exceedingly angry, and shall vex the Gentiles with a sore vexation" (D&C 87:5).

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[5]Also see revelation to Joseph Smith, Harmony, Pennsylvania, July 1828, Book of Commandments II:6 (D&C 3:16–20). Here Smith was told the plates had been preserved "for this very purpose" of telling the descendants of the Book of Mormon people of "the promises of the Lord" that soon were to be extended in their behalf.

[6]3 Nephi 20:14–17. The injunction, drawn from Micah's jeremiad, was repeated in 3 Nephi 16:15, 3 Nephi 21:11–21, and Mormon 5:22–24. For another variation stressing the Native American and the New Jerusalem, see Ether 13:6–13. Other scholars have noted the importance of these passages. Richard L. Bushman, "New Jerusalem, U.S.A.: The Early Development of the Latter-day Saint Zion Concept on the American Frontier" (Honor's thesis, Harvard College, 1955), 89–90, and Underwood, "Book of Mormon Usage," 43.

[7]4 January 1833, in *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith,* compiled and edited by Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), 273.

Orson and Parley P. Pratt, early pamphleteers and apostles, continued the theme. The former held that the "western world, including both North and South America," would ultimately pass to the righteous, which included the "remnant,"[8] while his brother argued for a literal reading of the Book of Mormon text. The prophecies contained therein, he held, were "plain, simple, definite, literal, positive and very express" and Jesus' prophetic words of American upheaval must be fulfilled to the letter. "This destruction" included "an utter overthrow, and desolation of all our Cities, Forts, and Strong holds—an entire annihilation of our race, except such as embrace the Covenant and are numbered with Israel."[9]

With these and similar expressions serving as their guide and the Book of Mormon as their handbook, early Church members had no confusion about their imperative. They understood the need of taking the Restoration message to the Native American people, who in turn would play their pivotal role by purifying the land prior to helping to build the New Jerusalem. What was at issue was a major biblical prophetic watershed: turning from the "times of the gentiles" to the new and final era of the chosen people of Jacob (Luke 21:24; D&C 45:25–30).

These fervent themes also filled the air of that pivotal September 1830 conference held at the Peter Whitmer home in Fayette, New York. Neutralizing Hiram Page's spurious revelations on the "upbuilding of Zion," which presumably gave his version of the promised Zion's location,[10] Smith received several of his own that mixed the themes of the last days, the destiny of the Native American, and the promised New Jerusalem. One of these revelations spoke of the need of the faithful to gather "unto one place upon the face of the land." While the precise site of this gathering place was not then told, another revelation suggested it would be "on the borders by the Lamanites," or near the western Missouri state line. To this region, Smith sent leading elders Oliver Cowdery, Parley Pratt, Peter Whitmer, Jr., and Ziba Peterson to preach to the natives.[11]

[8]Orson Pratt, *Divine Authority, Or the Question, Was Joseph Smith Sent of God?* (Liverpool: R. James, 1848), p. 11.

[9]In Underwood, "Book of Mormon Usage," 43.

[10]*History of the Church,* 1:109–10, 118; Joseph Fielding Smith, *Church History and Modern Revelation,* Series 1 (Salt Lake City: Quorum of Twelve Apostles, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1947), 125; and Bruce G. Stewart, "Hiram Page: An Historical and Sociological Analysis of an Early Mormon Prototype" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1987), 122–23.

[11]Book of Commandments XXX:8–9 (D&C 28:8–9); XXXII:1–3 (D&C 30:5–6); and *Times*

Millennial fever ran high among the little New York congregation. Several women worked to clothe the missionary band; this was "no easy task" since much had to be fashioned from raw and unprocessed material. Going beyond her strength, Emma Smith, Joseph's wife, fell ill with "heavy sickness."[12] The Lamanite missionaries were as dutiful. They entered into formal covenants of cooperation that defined the enterprise. "I, Oliver [Cowdery]," said one of these formal agreements, was "commanded of the Lord God to go forth unto the Lamanites to proclaim glad tidings of great joy . . . , and also to rear up a pillar as a witness where the temple of God shall be built in the glorious New Jerusalem."[13]

No spot in the United States suited the twin purposes of Cowdery's covenant as well as western Missouri. After the purchase of Louisiana and especially the War of 1812, many Americans wanted the Native American cleared from all lands east of the Mississippi River and placed in a "Permanent Indian Frontier," west and southwest of the Missouri state border. President James Monroe laid the matter before Congress in 1825; and in the decade following, the U.S. Government began the step-by-step relocation of many eastern bands to present-day Kansas and Oklahoma. The Indian Removal Bill, enacted six weeks after the establishment of Mormonism in May 1830, sought to complete the process. Its provisions called for the Indians still living east of the "Father of Waters" to take up new homes in the new Indian territory.[14] Thus, even as the LDS Lamanite missionaries set out on

and Seasons 4 (15 April 1843): 172 (D&C 32:2–3). As a further indication of the temper of the conference, Smith read Isaiah 5, which in his interpretative eyes revealed Israel's latter-day gathering, when "an ensign to the nations" should be lifted. "Minutes of the Second Conference held by the Elders of This Church, 26 September 1830," in *Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saint, 1830–1844*, edited by Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1983), 3.

[12]Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 169.

[13]Letter of Ezra Booth to Rev. Ira Eddy, 24 November 1831, *Ohio Star* (Ravenna), 8 December 1831; Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronology of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), October 1830, 6, Historical Department Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

[14]Warren A. Jennings, "Isaac McCoy and the Mormons," *Missouri Historical Review* 61 (October 1966): 62–64. For a treatment of the broader episode, see Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts 1790–1834* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).

their journey, government persuasion and intimidation were placing large numbers of Indians just beyond the western Missouri border.

The history of that tiny missionary band is now saga. En route to their destination, the missionaries preached in the Western Reserve and reaped a bounteous harvest of converts in and about Kirtland, Ohio—not of red but of white people who dramatically changed the flow of LDS history. Their conversions at Kirtland clearly were the most important preaching success of the new church, but the missionaries saw only a diversion. Rather than remaining in the area and extending their remarkable work, Cowdery's group impatiently pushed on despite the closing in of winter. They were on the Lord's errand.

Parley Pratt's matter-of-fact account suggests their zeal. Trudging through scantily peopled and roadless places, he recalled "the bleak northwest wind always blowing in our faces." The missionaries traveled day after day, from sunrise to sunset, sometimes wading in snow to their knees. On their backs they carried their clothing, books, and provisions. "We often ate our frozen bread and pork by the way," Pratt remembered, "when the bread would be so frozen that we could not bite or penetrate any part of it but the outside crust."[15]

Behind them in Ohio, Cowdery's troop left a people spiritually charged in their own image. The more enthusiastic of the new converts gave way to the excesses of frontier revivalism. Some adolescents recited visions of the New Jerusalem and carried their ecstacy to include the Native American. They spoke in supposed Indian dialects, gave Indian chants, or imitated Indian "maneuvers," such as wielding an imaginary sword of Laban, a Book of Mormon relic. Still others reported the natives' yearning for baptism, pretended to preach to them, and even plunged themselves into the neighborhood's icy streams in an imagined immersion of their visionary converts.[16]

These acts reflected the prevailing view of Cowdery and his mission.

[15]*Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1985), 40.

[16]Ezra Booth, "Letter III," in Eber B. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed* (Painesville, Ohio: By the Author, 1834), 184–85, 104–105, 126; John Whitmer, *An Early Latter Day Saint History: The Book of John Whitmer,* edited by F. Mark McKiernan and Roger D. Launius (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1980), 62; John Corrill, *A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints* (St. Louis: Printed for the Author, 1839), 16; Josiah Jones, "History of Mormonites," *Evangelist* 9 (1 June 1841): 134–36; Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, "Autobiography," 194, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

"He proclaims destruction upon the world in a few years," the Painesville *Telegraph* reported. "We understand that he is bound for the regions beyond the Mississippi, where he contemplates founding a 'City of Refuge' for his followers, and converting the Indians, under his prophetic authority." Cowdery also reportedly spoke of an about-to-rise Indian prophet, who would bring these events to pass.[17]

At least in terms of Lamanite converts, not much came from the Cowdery mission, which grew to five members with the addition of Frederick G. Williams, an Ohio convert. Preaching mainly to the Shawnees and the recently transplanted Delawares, the Mormons described a growing warmth to their message that Richard W. Cummins, the dour U.S. agent to the Shawnees and Delawares, ordered stopped "*instanter*," to use the formal Latin of the law. The Mormons were commanded to go "eastward into Missouri or westward to the Leavenworth guard house."[18] Whatever his manner, Cummins was within his rights: Cowdery and his companions did not have the necessary license to teach or reside among the Indians.

The agent's report to his superiors gave a glimpse of the spirit and program of the missionaries. "They say they are sent by God and must proceed," wrote Cummins.

> They have a new Revelation with them, as there Guide in teaching the Indians, which they say was shown to one of their Sect in a Miraculous way, and that an Angel from Heaven appeared to one of their Men and two others of their Sect, and shewed them that the work was from God, and much more &c. I have refused to let them stay or, or go among the Indian unless they first obtain permission from you, or some of the officers of the Genl. Government who I am bound to obey. I am informed that they intend to apply to you for permission to go among the Indians, if you refuse, then they will go to the Rocky Mountains, but that they will be with the Indians. The Men act very strange.[19]

[17]*Telegraph* (Painesville, Ohio), 16 and 30 November 1830, 3. Also see *Ohio Star* (Ravenna, Ohio), 9 December 1830 and Corrill, *Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints*, 6.

[18]John C. McCoy in *Kansas City Journal*, 26 January 1879 and 18 January 1885, quoted in Warren A. Jennings, "The First Mormon Mission to the Indians," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 37 (Autumn 1971): 296–97. For Mormon descriptions of their mission, Letter of Oliver Cowdery, quoted in Joseph Smith to Hyrum Smith, 3 March 1831, *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 230–31; and *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, 41–44.

[19]Cummins to Clark, 20 January 1831, Papers of St. Louis Superintendency, Bureau of Indian Affairs Microfilm. For another contemporary view of the Mormon mission, see "Statement of Isaac McCoy," *Missouri Republican* (Fayette), 20 December 1833, Dale L. Morgan, Clipping File, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as Morgan File).

It has become a frequent historiographical argument that the failure of the Cowdery mission ended the heady excitement about the Indian. True, Joseph Smith, now in Ohio, reined in the unregulated Kirtland charisma that focused on the Indian.[20] But the hope of Indian destiny and Zion remained unabated in the Mormon mind. These themes, it was later recalled, were "the most important subject[s] which then engrossed the attention of the Church."[21] In March 1831 Smith issued an Isaiah-sounding revelation that again set Lamanite Jacob and the New Jerusalem in a grand final-days design. The Native American would "flourish in the wilderness" and "blossom as the rose," it promised, as the future Zion rejoiced upon the "hills" and "mountains."[22]

Four months later, the importance of the matter summoned Smith himself to the western Missouri border where he learned that Zion's "center place" lay in Jackson County on a lot to the west "not far from the courthouse."[23] But this new revelation said nothing about outer metes and bounds. As early as 1831, the Mormons spoke of an expansive Zion, stretching from Kirtland far into the west to the Pacific shore.[24] Cummins, the Indian agent, was quick to note the strange interest of Cowdery's mission in being in the Rocky Mountains "with the Indians," while rumors back in Kirtland claimed the missionaries wanted to go to the "base of the Rocky Mountains."[25]

Smith's 1831 tour also mingled western and Indian themes. Undertaken with an ardor similar to that of Cowdery's mission the year previous,[26] the Prophet's party formally dedicated the New Jerusalem site by reading the 87th Psalm. "His foundation is in the holy mountains," it began. "The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob."[27] But there

[20]Book of Commandments LIII:1–32 (D&C 50:1–36); see also XLIII:3–7 (D&C 41:2–7); XLIX:23 (D&C 46:27); and LIV:14–19 (52:14–19); *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, 48. No doubt Smith at least partly had in mind Kirtland's spiritual excesses when, after first arriving in Ohio, he lamented "the devil has made many attempts to over throw" the work, a thrust that Smith labored to counteract. Joseph Smith to Hyrum Smith, 3 March 1831, *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 230.

[21]*History of the Church*, 1:182.

[22]Book of Commandments LII:22–26 (D&C 49:23–25).

[23]Doctrine of Covenants [1835] XXVII:1 (D&C 57:3).

[24]*Telegraph* (Painesville, Ohio), 18 January 1831, 3; Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed*, 111; and *Ohio Star* (Ravenna), 27 January 1831, Morgan File.

[25]*Telegraph* (Painesville, Ohio), 29 March 1831, 2, Morgan File.

[26]*Telegraph* (Painesville, Ohio), 14 June 1831, 3, Morgan File; Andrew Cahoon, Diary, 4 August 1831, LDS Church Archives.

[27]Psalm 87:1–2; *History of the Church*, 1:199.

were more than dim references that Smith and his friends might have taken as allusions for the American West and the Indian. Smith gave a revelation requiring Sidney Gilbert to open a store in western Missouri that would allow "clerks employed in his service" to go unto the Lamanites and "thus the gospel may be preached unto them."[28] He also issued a confidential revelation that presaged the introduction of plural marriage. This latter statement promised that the elders would intermarry with the native women, making the red man's posterity "white, delightsome, and just."[29]

With the government still restraining Mormon activity in the Indian territory, these 1831 revelations were either altered or unpublished to conceal their Indian content and the implicit Mormon interest in the area west of Missouri. But enough was publicly said by Smith's party to prick Missouri ears. "The Mormonites are about to take the country," wrote one alarmed citizen, who obviously had heard something about the Mormon notice of the Far West. "They are preaching and baptizing, through the country, [and] are trying to proceed west to find the New Jerusalem which they say is towards the rocky mountains."[30]

Suddenly a half dozen splintered and isolated pieces of the early Mormon picture merge and come into focus. The location of the Jackson County New Jerusalem had part of its logic connected with the nearby native tribesmen. But the new city also had geographical and eschatological meaning. To the east, it looked for gentile sheaves—European and American converts. The north would bring the returning Lost Tribes,[31] while the West

[28]Kirtland Revelation Book, Revelation Given in Zion, July 1831, Verses 9b and 10, LDS Church Archives; compare D&C 57:8–9; Ezra Booth, Letter IX, in Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed,* 220.

[29]"Revelation given west of Jackson County, Missouri, 17 July 1831," in W. W. Phelps to Brigham Young, 12 August 1861, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives; Thomas Bullock Minutes, "Council in Office," Nauvoo, Illinois, 27 February 1845, LDS Church Archives; Ezra Booth, Letter IX, in Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed,* 220; and William Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton,* edited by George D. Smith (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in Association with Smith Research Associates, 1991), xxvi.

[30]Delilah Lykins to John and Christiana Polke McCoy, 31 July 1831, cited in Warren A. Jennings, "Isaac McCoy and the Mormons," *Missouri Historical Review* 61 (October 1966): 65.

[31]D&C 110:11; 133:26. Smith held that the American continent would be the gathering place for many of the Lost or Ten Tribes, Smith to N. C. Saxton, 4 January 1833, in *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith,* 273. A variety of sources suggests that this belief was very much a part of the early Mormon mind. See "Interview of David Whitmer," *Chicago Times,* 17 October 1881; Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed,* 127–28; and Booth, Letter III, in ibid., 185–86.

would gather the Indian remnant that had been seen and hoped for from the Church's beginning. In this program, Smith's millenarian promises of the Lamanite Jacob prospering in the "wilderness" and Zion thriving on the "hills" and "mountains" were more than allegorical flourishes. They whispered of the mountainous American West as one of the future areas of Mormon Indian activity.[32]

This message, even similar words, continued among the Mormons in the Western Reserve during the 1830s. Reynolds Cahoon recalled Smith speaking in 1831 about the Lamanite destiny and the coming "great events," when the nations of the earth would tremble.[33] Mormon men freely talked of being "endowed from on high" so that they could minister to the Native Americans in the West.[34] Then there were Kirtland's patriarchal blessings. Some of these promised women the chance to teach "the daughters of the Lamanites" in both "the principles of righteousness" and in domestic arts. Men in turn were told of their forthcoming missions to the Natives.[35] Cowdery's blessing, which was given by Joseph Smith, Jr., used the images of the March 1831 revelation regarding Lamanite destiny: "Blessed upon the mountains shall his feet be," it said. Moreover, "the blessings of the lasting hills" would be his.[36]

During an 1837 Kirtland fast and testimony meeting, Jonathan Dunham may have been startled to hear a detailed prophecy of a predicted mission

[32]Book of Commandments LII:25–26 (D&C 49:24–25).

[33]"High Priests Minutes, 1856–1876," 7 June 1854, Salt Lake Stake, LDS Church Archives.

[34]James Patterson Henderson, Letter to Reverend M. Henderson, 2 February 1832, James Patterson Henderson Collection, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

[35]Women: Patriarchal Blessing of Flora Jacobs, 13 June 1837, by Joseph Smith, Sr., William Smith Patriarchal Blessing Book, 177–78, Historical Library, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence (hereafter RLDS Church Archives); and Patriarchal Blessing of Olive Boynton Hale, 10 November 1836, by Joseph Smith, Sr., in "Journal of Jonathan H. Hale, 1800–1840," LDS Church Archives. Men: Patriarchal Blessing of Abel Butterfield, 8 December 1836, by Joseph Smith, Sr., William Smith Patriarchal Blessing Book; Patriarchal Blessing of Amos B. Fuller, 17 June 1836, by Joseph Smith, Sr., typescript in my possession. Most recorded Mormon blessings are housed in the LDS Archives and are not available to research. Therefore only limited conclusions about the timing and Indian content of the Kirtland blessings can be made, though surviving documents were given toward the end of Mormon era in the township, 1836–37.

[36]"Blessing Upon Oliver Cowdery," 18 December 1833, Patriarchal Blessing Book 1, 12, LDS Church Archives. No doubt part of the imagery derived from the blessing of the Old Testament Jacob on the posterity of Joseph, Genesis 49:26. Several Mormons came to regard the American Rockies as synonymous with the blessings promised to Joseph of Egypt.

to the Indians in Canada. "Thou art called to do a great work amongst the Lamanites," he was told, "for the time has come when the Gospel, yes the fulness of the Gospel must be preached to the Lamanites."[37] About this time, Peter Shirts, later a southern Utah Indian missionary, testified to a vision given to him of his future Native American labor, which Church leaders Sidney Rigdon, John Smith, and Joseph Smith affirmed by a formal blessing and vocal witnessing. He was advised that "much [Indian work] was required at his hand."[38]

More than prediction and prophesying, there were actual preaching calls. John P. Greene, Amos R. Orton, Lorenzo and Phineas Young were each formally designated as Lamanite missionaries, though at least Greene's assignment was deferred until "after others have unlocked the door."[39] This proviso apparently referred to Brigham Young's forthcoming call several months later to "preach the Gospel and open the door of salvation to the aborigines, or the seed of Joseph." More than a regular preaching commission, Young later insisted Smith had given him authority to direct the latter-day redemption of the Lamanites.[40]

Clearly the failure of the Cowdery mission had not spent the Mormon zeal for the Indian. Moreover, during the 1830s, the Kirtland air wafted with continued allusions to the Far West. Erastus Snow was told at this time he "should yet be employed in the ministry west of the Rocky Mountains" where he would perform a "good work in teaching and leading the Lamanites."[41] When Lorenzo Dow Young, Brigham's brother, lay close to death, the spiritually wrought Hyrum Smith gave a health blessing full of prophecy.

[37]Blessing of 15 July 1837, Kirtland, Ohio, in Jonathan Dunham Papers, LDS Church Archives.

[38]Recorded in Thomas Dunlop Brown, Diary, 13 May 1854, LDS Church Archives.

[39]"Blessing of Those Who Assisted in Building the House of the Lord," 7 and 8 March 1835, *History of the Church*, 2:207–8.

[40]Brigham Young Manuscript History, 2 May 1835, *Millennial Star* 25 (18 July 1863); Council in Office, 27 February 1845, Bullock's Minutes of Meetings, LDS Archives; Meeting of the Council of the First Presidency and Twelve, 29 December 1847, Bullock's Minutes of Meetings, 1847, LDS Church Archives; and Brigham Young, Meeting at the Ephraim Meeting House, 24 (?) June 1875, Minutes of Meetings, 1848–52, LDS Church Archives. Brigham Young's possible appointment had been discussed two months earlier, and in May the Twelve Apostles voted to give Young this assignment as a delegated part of their own duty. Ronald K. Esplin, "The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership, 1830–1841" (Ph.D. diss. Brigham Young University, 1981), 162.

[41]Joseph W. Olsen, "History of Erastus Snow" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1935), 16–17.

Young would "live to go with the Saints into the bosom of the Rocky Mountains to build up a place there," the brother of the Prophet forecast.[42] On another occasion, Sister Heman Hyde interpreted a flow of tongue-speaking. This talk, she explained, was about some of the Saints going to the Rocky Mountains.[43] Joseph Smith himself was the likely fountainhead for these whispers. During the Kirtland era, Wilford Woodruff recalled his speaking of "tens of thousands of saints" settling in the western mountains.[44]

These statements, typical of the Mormons of northeastern Ohio, flowed as easily in western Missouri, as members of the new faith began to settle in the area after Joseph Smith's 1831 tour. Paulina E. Phelps, whose family was among the first recruits, remembered Joseph Smith, Jr., blessing her when visiting the area the following year. Told she would go to the Rocky Mountains in her lifetime, the young girl became alarmed. "I did not know at the time what the term 'Rocky Mountains' meant," she later said, "but I supposed it to be something connected with the Indians." Her fear of the Native American froze the event in her mind.[45]

Some of the Mormon Indian interest in Missouri lay in the public domain. The Church's periodical, *The Evening and the Morning Star,* printed numerous pieces about the Native Americans, provided the text of Smith's several revelations regarding them, and rhapsodized how these pieces fit into the latter-day prophetic mosaic. "What beauty to see prophecies fulfilled so exactly," wrote editor W. W. Phelps. In his eyes, the government's Indian resettlement policy was a "marvelous," now-at-hand reality of the old predictions that the Indians were to be gathered. Phelps believed federal agents were acting as "nursing fathers unto . . . [their Indian] children," as Book of Mormon prophecy had foretold. From all indication,

[42]James Amasa Little, "Biography of Lorenzo Dow Young," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 14 (1946): 46.

[43]Discussion of the First Presidency and Council of Twelve, in Francis M. Lyman Diary, 19 April 1894, 134; and Heber J. Grant, Diary, 17 April 1894, both in LDS Church Archives.

[44]Wilford Woodruff, Meeting of the Quorum of the Twelve and First Presidency, in Heber J. Grant, Diary, 17 April 1894, 74; "Wilford Woodruff," in Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1901–1936): 1:20–21.

[45]Affidavit, 31 July 1902, LDS Church Archives. For this source and several others dealing with the Mormon fixation with the West, I am indebted to Lewis Clark Christian, "A Study of Mormon Knowledge of the American Far West Prior to the Exodus," (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1972), 65; and Ronald K. Esplin, "'A Place Prepared': Joseph, Brigham and the Quest for Promised Refuge," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982): 85–111.

the times of the gentiles were "short" and the promises to Jacob imminent. Something "great and good" lay in store for the benighted Lamanite, Phelps believed, as the red man's last days certainly would be his "best."[46]

To his steady drum roll about the Indian and his destiny, Phelps added his view of the land west of the Missouri settlements, which he called the "Far West." Wasn't this, the editor wondered, the land of the covenant, where the Book of Mormon Jaredites and Nephites had once roamed before meeting their destruction? While the world would never prize the area because of its want of timber and mill seats, Deity had a different view. This land was Zion, he argued, the land of Joseph, the receptacle of "the chief things of the ancient mountains, and for the precious things of the lasting hills." In a few sentences, Phelps wove together some of the images that Joseph Smith had been using when speaking of the western Zion and the soon-to-be redeemed Indian.[47]

Understandably, none of this talk set well with the Missourians. Already uneasy over the several thousand potentially hostile natives on their frontier, many angry over their forced relocation, old-line Missourians saw Phelps's articles—and the underlying Book of Mormon prophecies on which they were based—as provocative and menacing. Weren't the Mormons anxious to ally themselves with these dangerous red men? The reaction of the Missourians was not without cause. These hardy settlers of the border fully understood themselves to be counted among the imperiled "gentiles" spoken of in the Mormon revelations.

With prudence the Missouri Saints might have escaped the rolling tide of violence that finally washed over them. But these were men and women of the first generation, filled with apocalyptic fervor. Mormon historian B. H. Roberts viewed them without illusions. Some of the more reckless had boasted of the rise of the Lamanite and the triumph of their own cause in taking the Jackson County lands. These LDS settlers, Roberts thought, had been "overzealous" and "ignorant," betraying the "effervescence of over-

[46]*Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (December 1832): [54], (January 1833): [62]; 2 (June 1833):101; W. W. Phelps to Oliver Cowdery, 13 November 1834, Letter III, *Latter Day Saint Messenger and Advocate* 1 (1 December 1834): 33–34.

[47]*Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (October 1832): [37]. Phelps was citing Deuteronomy 33:13–17. The editor later would help select Mormon settlement sites in Daviess County and may have had a role in choosing the name of the region's most prominent town, Far West, thus giving another expression to his fascination with the western region.

wrought minds."[48] Then there was Phelps's *Evening and Morning Star*, which had unwisely placed in plain print large parts of the Mormons' prophetic and easily misunderstood Indian agenda.

Joseph Smith grasped that many of his followers in Missouri had been unwise. From his Kirtland headquarters, he scored the "ignorant & unstable Sisters & weak members" who had caused the Missourians to believe the Mormons were "putting up the Indians to slay the Gentiles." Such talk, Smith cautioned, endangered the lives of the Saints everywhere.[49] In a second letter, Smith renewed his stern caution. Nothing, he warned, would rouse Missouri fears more than wild talk about a Mormon-Indian alliance.[50]

These were not the only reproofs coming from Kirtland. When some Missouri Church members prophesied that "great things would be done" by Mormons among the Native Americans, who in turn would "fight for us," Frederick G. Williams, a member of the First Presidency, also sounded the alarm. "Though all this may be true," he advised in a letter, "yet, it is not needful that it should be spoken, for it . . . has a tendency to stir up the [Missouri] people to anger."[51] A formal revelation was as explicit: "Talk not of judgments, neither boast of faith nor of mighty works," counseled the Fishing River declaration (D&C 105:24).

These warnings had little effect—first on the most enthusiastic among the Mormons but least of all on the Missourians. With each wave of persecution in the state, the old settlers charged the Mormons with "Indian tampering." During the 1833 Jackson County difficulty, reports spread that the Mormons were stirring sedition among the Indians.[52] Other rumors had them taking their promised land by the sword—with Indian contrivance. According to Isaac McCoy, a Baptist missionary and long-time promoter of the Indian resettlement, the Mormons were "strongly suspected" of seeking aid during their Jackson County struggles from the natives across the border.[53] As matters climaxed, the fears of local settlers greatly increased.

[48]"Introduction," *History of the Church*, 3:xxix-xlvii.

[49]Joseph Smith to W. W. Phelps, 31 July 1832, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 247.

[50]Smith to John Thorton, et al., 25 July 1836, ibid., 2:458.

[51]Frederick G. Williams to the Missouri Saints, 10 October 1833, *History of the Church*, 1:419.

[52]Letter from Missouri, 28 June 1834, *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), 23 July 1834.

[53]"Statement of Isaac McCoy," 28 November 1833, in *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), 20 December 1833, reprinted from the *Western Monitor* (Fayette, Missouri). See also Jennings, "Isaac McCoy and the Mormons," 62–82.

Word went out that the Mormons and the Indians were "colleagued together" and were about to attack Independence.[54]

When pushed from the county, the Mormons were prevented from going either west or south – their clear preference, which would have placed them within easy reach of the Indian Territory. Instead, the Jackson County committee demanded that they go north. "It can only be surmised that the motive behind this [decision] was fear," one scholar concluded, "fear that the Mormons might establish contact with the Indian tribes to the west."[55]

The Indian issue also played a role with the Clay County expulsion. The local grievance committee charged the newcomers "with keeping up a constant communication with the Indian tribes on our frontier, with declaring, even from the pulpit, that the Indians are a part of God's chosen people, and are destined, by heaven, to inherit this land, in common with themselves." With the nearby Indians restless, such sentiment, the committee complained, filled the citizens "with horror, if not alarm."[56] Daniel Dunklin washed his hands of the dispute by invoking *vox populi, vox Dei.* "Your neighbors accuse your people of holding illicit communication with the Indians, and of being opposed to slavery," he wrote to Mormon leaders. They "seem to believe it true; and whether true or false, the consequences will be the same."[57] Dunklin's unhappy verdict was true. Given the high state of Missouri emotion, the usual application of the law was impossible.

As the Missouri turmoil reached its crescendo in 1838, the charges against the Mormons became more precise. The Mormons had secretly placed twelve men among the western tribesmen, said one. Another claimed that Joseph Smith boasted of having fourteen thousand men – presumably Native American warriors – ready to answer his command.[58] These and other accusations usually had their direct or indirect origin in what the Missourians believed were the frightful implications of Book of

[54]*History of the Church,* 1:431; Parley P. Pratt, *History of the Late Persecution Inflicted by the State of Missouri upon the Mormons* (Detroit: Dawson & Bates, Printers, 1839), 18.

[55]Warren A. Jennings, "The Expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County, Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 64 (October 1960): 56.

[56]*Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 2 (August 1836): 354.

[57]Daniel Dunklin to W. W. Phelps, et al., 18 July 1836, in *History of the Church,* 2:461–62.

[58]Affidavit of John N. Sapp, 4 September 1838, and Affidavit of Nathan Marsh, in Daniel Ashby, et al. to Lilburn W. Boggs, 1 September 1838, in Missouri State Department, *Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &c. in Relation to the Disturbances with the Mormons. . . .* (Fayette, Missouri: Office of the Boon's Lick Democrat, 1841), 15–17.

Mormon prophecy. "Their writings teach," insisted a Missourian, "that the Indians are to embrace Mormonism, and are to be among the *Gentiles* like a lion—are to lift up their hand against our citizens, and cut them off, and repossess the land— and all who do not embrace Mormonism are to be cut off." In short, the Mormons, it was feared, meant to bring on the Millennium "with a vengeance—[a] war to the knife."[59]

Missourians claimed that during various stages of their "war" with the new settlers, the Saints took spiritual refuge in their millennial belief. "It was a very common source of rejoicing among all classes [of Saints]," said one, "that the time had arrived when all the wicked should be destroyed from the face of the earth, and that the Indians should be the principal means by which this object should be accomplished."[60] As the turmoil grew, the Missourians said the Saints looked for deliverance at the hands of the American Natives, who would be joined and empowered by an apocalyptic "Flying Angel."[61]

The truth of these feverish and probably exaggerated rumors will never be fully known. At the very least, the Mormons likely had built quiet ties with the close-by natives, attempting to walk the thin line of being true to their scriptural tenets while at the same time trying to avoid offense to the nervous Missourians. As previously seen, merchant Sidney Gilbert and his clerks received such a confidential preaching mission at the start of the Jackson County settlement: The duty of the "Lord's Storehouse" included native proselyting. In addition, more direct efforts at Indian preaching and converting were probably undertaken as well.

Several slender pieces of evidence from Mormon sources remain. In 1833 members of at least one of the Jackson County congregations predicted

[59]Correspondent writing in the *Baptist Advocate*, reprinted in the *Evangelist* 9 (1 May 1841): 112–13. An anti-Mormon tract issued after the Saints' expulsion from Missouri ineluctably found itself drawn to the same scriptural passage. James Henry Hunt, *Mormonism; Embracing the Origin, Rise and Progress of the Sect, with an Examination of the Book of Mormon, Also Their Troubles in Missouri, and Final Expulsion from the State* (St. Louis: Ustick and Davies, 1844), 134.

[60]Affidavit of Nathan Marsh, in *Document Containing the Correspondence*, 16.

[61]Ibid. Compare *Niles' Weekly Register* (Washington, D.C.), 14 September 1833. If these rumors about Mormon belief were true, the "Flying Angel" may have been the harbinger of the apocalypse spoken of in biblical and Mormon scripture (Rev. 14:6; D&C 133:36). These motifs are also present in Smith's revelation, given 24 February 1834, asserting that the redemption of Zion "needs come by power" and promises "mine angel shall go up before you" (D&C 103:15–19).

that LDS "representatives" would soon be sent among the various bands of the Indians, who then would perform "great things." Whether actual deeds followed these predictions is unclear.[62] The Indian Territory, however, did have one identifiably Mormon outpost. During the late 1830s, a mixed branch of Sac, Fox, and Kickapoo Indians known as "Mormon Indians" lived north of Fort Leavenworth. Proselyted in Ohio or Indiana prior to their removal to the Indian territory, these Indians had contact with the Missouri Saints and were the inspiration for Phelps's poem, "O Stop and Tell Me, Red Man," which was placed in the Church's first collection of hymns.[63] But evangelizing the Indian and inciting rebellion were two different things. The Saints strongly denied the latter, and most historians have taken them at their word.[64] "The Mormon saw himself as a harbinger of millennial disaster," Warren Jennings wrote, "and not as an instrument of vengeance in the hands of God."[65] The Saints were eager to prove the point. When state officials called out the state militia in 1838 to meet a supposed Indian attack, the Mormon ranks in Caldwell County were quickly oversubscribed, "proving to the state," argued one Church member, "that we are ready to suppress foreign invasion as well as internal mobs."[66] Indeed, the Mormons proclaimed their willingness to defend the region against the "barbarous savages."[67]

While the Saints were content to preach to the Indian and allow the

[62]Frederick G. Williams to the Missouri Saints, 10 October 1833, *History of the Church*, 1:419.

[63]James Stapleton Lewis, Journal and Autobiography, Books 2–4, 18–19, 36, LDS Church Archives. The initial contact with these Indians was in 1832, apparently in Ohio or Indiana. "Their humility surpassed anything I have ever seen before or since," said Lewis, who was one of the Mormon missionaries.

[64]In addition to Warren A. Jennings, "Zion Is Fled: The Expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County, Missouri" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1962), see Stephen C. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 71; and B. H. Roberts in *History of the Church*, 3:46. The "Fishing River" revelation, 22 June 1834, firmly instructed the Saints to adopt a peaceful course, while suggesting that the "Destroyer," perhaps the Native Americans of the region, would perform a more militant duty (D&C 105:14–15).

[65]Jennings, "Zion Is Fled," 305.

[66]6 October 1838, "The Last Months of Mormonism in Missouri: The Albert Perry Rockwood Journal," edited by Dean C. Jessee and David J. Whittaker, *Brigham Young University Studies* 28 (Winter 1988): 20.

[67]"Minutes of a Public Meeting . . . in Clay County, Missouri," 1 July 1836, *History of the Church*, 2:453; compare "Memorandum of Agreement . . . ," 23 July 1833, ibid. 1:414.

providential hand to bring the cataclysm, the Missouri oldtimers failed to see the distinction. "It is generally thought that we shall have war with the Mormons & Indians both," one settler wrote during the final stages of the Missouri conflict. Another had the two parties joined as allies, believing that one or two tribes were about to enroll in Smith's cause.[68] When Governor Lilburn W. Boggs called out the Missouri militia at the end of August 1838, he noted "Indian disturbances on our immediate frontier" as well as the alleged "civil disturbances" in Mormon Caldwell, Daviess, and Carroll counties.[69] If the two were not directly related, they stood side by side in the Missouri mind.

The same juxtaposition still held two months later. Boggs's exterminating order placed five hundred men between the fleeing Mormons and the Indians, which brought a later comment from Brigham Young. Ever since the Cowdery mission, Young argued, the Mormons had tried to preach to the Indians. Now, in the final act of the Missouri drama, the governor had moved to prevent this or any other kind of contact.[70]

Looking back on their experience, the Saints understood that Indian relations had played a role in their turmoil. When reviewing the causes of their "persecution," Parley Pratt listed Indian relations among the half dozen most disturbing factors. We were "guilty of believing in the present Government administration of Indian affairs," Pratt remarked. To Pratt and most other Mormons, the government's "Permanent Indian Territory" and its policy of gathering were ideally suited to Mormon purposes, however much Missourians feared and disliked having the Indians close.[71]

The Mormons also understood that several Indian agents and missionaries in Indian Territory had opposed them. This certainly had been another factor in their expulsion. General Clark—identified in Mormon records as an Indian subagent serving in Kansas—supposedly rode from his

[68]E. A. Lampkin, Letter to Maj. Thomas G. Bradford, 8 September 1838, Bradford Correspondence and Eli Haigler, Letter to Parents, Sister, and Brothers, 19 September 1838, in *Franklin County Tribune*, 24 March 1922, both cited in LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri*, 72.

[69]B. M. Lisle, Adjutant-General, Letter to David R. Atchison, 30 August 1838, in *History of the Church*, 3:65.

[70]Lilburn W. Boggs, Letter to General Clark, 27 October 1838, in *History of the Church*, 3:175; Brigham Young, 2 December 1847, Meeting at the Winter Quarters Council House, Bullock's Minutes of Meetings, 1847, LDS Church Archives.

[71]Pratt, *History of the Late Persecution*, 25.

station to encourage the Jackson County depredations.[72] Likewise, R. W. Cummins, Cowdery's 1831 opponent, signed the Jackson County anti-Mormon manifesto, while Baptist missionary Isaac McCoy was believed to have led one of the three anti-Mormon companies in 1833.[73]

But the reasons for the Missouri difficulty ran deeper than government policy or the acts of agents and clergymen. Profound social and cultural differences had separated the two peoples; and within this division, the Mormons' apocalyptic Indian views had stirred continuing and deep animosity. If the question of the Indian's role in the final days had been a major factor in summoning the Saints to Missouri and in the successive persecutions there, it also was an important irritant in their expulsion.

Even before the Church left the state, Joseph Smith was looking at the trans-plains region once again. According to Lewis C. Christian and Ronald K. Esplin, while still in Missouri Smith may have gathered maps of the western region, hoped to dispatch an exploring party there, and reaffirmed his interest in the project while confined in Liberty Jail.[74] He wished, it was later said, "to find a location west of the rocky mountains."[75] During this period, Brigham Young also had the West on his mind. "I had a vision," the leader of the Missouri exodus recollected, "and saw that the people would go to the east, to the north, and [then] to the west, but we should go back to Jackson County from the west." For Young and several other Church leaders, if their later recollections can be trusted, Nauvoo was a detour.[76]

At first the Indian lay at the root of this fixation with the West. The western region promised to be a bounteous field for Native American preaching, beyond the Indian agent-infested area across the Missouri border. Sev-

[72]Whitmer, *An Early Latter Day Saint History*, 92. This individual possibly was John B. Clark, who led the "exterminating" militia against the Mormons in 1838.

[73]Cummins in *History of the Church*, 1:376; McCoy in Pratt, *History of the Late Persecution*, 21; *History of the Church*, 1:372, 391–92; and Jennings, "Isaac McCoy and the Mormons," 62–82. The latter argues that the missionary's course was more moderate than that portrayed in Mormon sources.

[74]Lewis Clark Christian, "Mormon Foreknowledge of the West," *Brigham Young University Studies* 21 (Fall 1981): 405; Esplin, "'A Place Prepared,'" 89.

[75]Orson Pratt quoted in Willard Richards, Journal, 26 April 1846, John D. Lee, Journal, same date, both in LDS Church Archives.

[76]Brigham Young, 11 December 1864, *Journal of Discourses* 27 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Book Depot, 1853–86): 11:17. Similar comments were made by Heber C. Kimball and Joseph Smith, Sr.; see *President Heber C. Kimball's Journal* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor's Office, 1882), 77–78; and Oliver B. Huntington, Diary, 2:21C, Special Collections, Lee Library.

eral patriarchal blessings given in Missouri confirmed the idea. "Thou shalt become a hunter among the mountains of the West," said one, "and thy steps betrodden upon the banks of the Pacific to seek and to hunt out the long dispersed people."[77] These promises did not necessarily mean that Zion's center place would be moved to the Rocky Mountains. As Orson Pratt later explained, the early Church leaders understood that "revolutions" regarding the Lamanite would take place. But these things could be achieved by traveling missionaries, while their families remained in the eastern United States among "the strongholds of the gentiles."[78]

The difficulties of Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois altered this view. Instead of serving as a field for Lamanite conversion or peopling one of Zion's outlying "stakes" of settlement, the West—somewhere beyond the Missouri border and near the mountains of Ephraim—beckoned more and more as a place of refuge where the larger part of the Saints might gather. Here Church members would be near bellicose Jacob, who in turn would shield the righteous from the persecuting but soon-to-be-consumed gentile. This concept, millennial in expectation and Book of Mormon in origin, helped to shape the next several decades of the Latter-day Saint experience.

Isaac Russell, a Canadian convert and one of Mormonism's most stalwart early missionaries in Great Britain, was the first to act on the blueprint. Disillusioned by the Missouri expulsion and sensing the closeness of the end, Russell in 1839 secretly wrote to the members of the Alston Branch in northwest England, many of whom he had baptized. The Native Americans must "now to be visited by the gospel," he insisted. Their redemption had "come," as the gentiles would soon be cut off. Believing the Missouri disaster to be a sign of Church members' lack of worthiness, Russell hoped to lead a small band of true disciples into the "wilderness," where red and white men could prepare "a city of Peace, a place of Refuge." This Zion, Russell claimed, would be protected during the "time of indignation" when the Native American redeemed "all this land."[79]

Russell did more than write a letter. He apparently led a group of recent immigrants west from Louisiana in an unsuccessful attempt to raise

[77]Blessing of Perregrine Sessions, 7 January 1838, given by Isaac Morley at Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri, in *Diaries of Perregrine Sessions* (Bountiful, Utah: Carr Printing Co., 1967), 36B. Such wording and promises were not unusual in the Missouri period.

[78]Remarks, 1 August 1847, in William Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 372.

[79]Russell, Letter to the Alston Branch, 30 January 1839, quoted in Willard Richards, Letter to Joseph Fielding and William Clayton, 26 November 1845, LDS Church Archives.

his hoped-for Indian colony.[80] His misadventures cost him his membership but not the long-term disapproval of Joseph Smith or William Law, a counselor in the First Presidency, who saw Russell's infraction as misdirected eagerness. "Read the Book of Mormon and you will find that Joseph [Smith] has not fallen," Law implored Russell, "he has not done his work yet." Russell was invited to return to the body of the Church. "You would be received here with open arms," Law promised, "were you to come back."[81]

Over the course of the next several years, Russell was followed by several like-minded enthusiasts, whose Indian sympathy and millenarian Book of Mormon views drove them to private and unauthorized acts. Joseph Smith, on the other hand, while fully cognizant that "he had not done his work yet" with the Lamanite, was more cautious—constrained by the rod of the Missouri persecution. In his view, the Church must avoid another such debacle, even while attempting somehow to fulfill its obligation.

Clearly the matter concerned him. Extricating himself from Missouri, he boarded with a Mormon family near Quincy, Illinois, for a day or two. "I have had a revelation with regard to you," he told one of the family's sons. "God has shown to me that you have got to go among the Lamanites." When this individual came to breakfast the next day ready for an Indian preaching tour, Smith had to explain, "It is not time now but after awhile your work is with them."[82] For the Mormon leader, it was a question of timing and proper opportunity.

More than a dozen of his followers later said that Smith spoke similar things to them during the Church's stay in Nauvoo, Illinois. But the Mormon leader did more than predict future events. Perhaps for the first time since his 1831 trip to Missouri, Smith had the chance to meet Native Americans first hand. One of the most important of these encounters involved an Oneida Indian, who traveled several hundred miles to Illinois with his wife and daughter to visit the Mormons. The native styled himself as "an Interpreter of six tribes," whom he confidently predicted would "receive the work." He himself did, being "joyfully" baptized in May 1840. The unnamed Indian

[80]*History of the Church*, 3:226, 336.

[81]William Law, Letter to Isaac Russell, 29 November 1840, Mary Jean Freebairn Papers, LDS Church Archives.

[82]Oliver Boardman Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 129, Special Collections, Lee Library.

may have been Lewis Dana and his wife Mary Gont. During the next decade, the two were at the heart of the Mormons' Lamanite effort.[83]

Freed from the fetters of Missouri and perhaps quickened by the Indians' conversion, Smith in 1840 began a series of Indian evangelizing efforts—usually confidentially, often omitting the details from official and even private records.[84] While some missionary work had already been done among the Indians still in the east, the attention now turned west. Among the first to go were John Lowe Butler and James Emmett, the latter having previously shown a zeal for the Lamanite while living in Missouri.[85] Venturing among the Sioux in probably southern Minnesota, Butler and Emmett reported only harrowing experiences: "They stole our horses and shot our cattle and came very near shooting us." Hoping for a better result, Joseph Smith called for the two missionaries to renew their efforts. While their second 1840 mission was less eventful, it proved no more fruitful than the first.[86]

The Butler-Emmett mission failed, but something favorable to the Mormon cause was clearly happening. Wilford Woodruff, who was preaching in Great Britain, recorded encouraging news in his diary. "I am informed the Lamanites are beginning to embrace the work considerable," he penned.[87] Brigham Young, also in England, apparently heard the same rumor.

[83]Wilford Woodruff, Diary, 13 July 1840, Woodruff Papers, LDS Archives; *Millennial Star* 1 (August 1840): 89; *Women's Exponent* 15 (May 1883), 1883; and William G. Hartley, *John Lowe Butler: History and Autobiography of a Mormon Frontiersman* (Provo: John Lowe Butler Family Organization, 1992), pp. 156–62. Mormon records usually use the spelling "Dana," but there are other variations such as "Denna," "Denny," and "Dany." He was born 1 January 1800, in Oneida County, New York, the son of Jonathan Dana. Missionary File, Historical Department Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[84]Most missionary Indian diaries are sparse to the point of omission. To cite one example, after Brigham Young received the "keys" to preach to the Indians in 1835, "we visited & preached to them |and| they believed it," he said several years later. "Council in office," 27 February 1845, Bullock's Minutes, Brigham Young Papers. Yet Young's diary at the time is silent on the episode.

[85]Edward Stevenson, Autobiography, 63, LDS Church Archives.

[86]John Butler, Autobiography, 21, Special Collections, Lee Library. Butler gives the year 1842 for his missions, but Butler's biographer places the work two years earlier. Hartley, *John Lowe Butler*, 156–62. Also see Phebe W. Woodruff to Wilford Woodruff, 4 May 1840, in *Millennial Star* (August 1940): 89–90.

[87]Wilford Woodruff, Diary, 9 November 1840, Woodruff Papers, LDS Church Archives.

He wrote to Joseph Smith wanting to know how "cousin Lemuel gets along with his business."[88]

These veiled passages no doubt had reference to Jonathan Dunham's 1840 Indian mission. After receiving a blessing in mid-1837 promising him a "great work" with the Lamanites, Dunham filled several eastern missions, including work with the Brotherton, Oneida, Stockbridge, and Tuscarora nations, and apparently several others as well.[89] When not preaching, he had other Church-related assignments. In Kirtland he was made a member of the Second Quorum of Seventy, took a leading role in the migration of the Kirtland Camp to Missouri, and after the Mormon expulsion, found himself once more preaching in the East.[90]

In May 1840 he returned to Nauvoo, where he recorded in his diary the conversion of an Oneida interpreter."One Lamanite ordained and blessed by the Patriarch," he wrote. Ten days later, on 13 May without any explanation written in his journal, he "fixed to go to west." He was heading for the Indian Territory in present-day Kansas. By the first week of June, he was within a few miles of Fort Leavenworth, when he turned southeast about six miles to the lodge of Thomas Hendricks, "Chief of the Stockbridges." With Hendricks away, he preached to the nearby Kickapoos and visited the Delaware headman Timothy Towsa. But his chief interest lay with Hendricks, who continued to be absent. After spending less than a week in the area, Dunham found it necessary to "go away into the woods," as word came that Indian agents wanted him out of the territory. But still he remained, secretly fed by the Stockbridge women.[91]

Nothing more is known about the details of Dunham's mission, for his diary abruptly breaks off at this point. But the missionary, and apparently his superiors, were well pleased with the result. Returning to Nauvoo, he was promptly dispatched with three other elders for a short mission to the Allegheny, Buffalo, Catteraugus, Onondaga, Oneida, Tonawanda, and Tuscarora people in the East. Writing to the Kirtland Saints, Dunham described this new assignment as "urgent indeed." For one thing, he wished to return to his "station" near Fort Leavenworth as soon as possible. But the larger

[88]Brigham Young, Letter to Joseph Smith, 7 May 1840, Joseph Smith Collection, LDS Church Archives.

[89]Blessing Given to Jonathan Dunham, 15 July 1837, and Missionary Diaries, 1837 and 1839, Jonathan Dunham Papers, LDS Church Archives.

[90]Journal History, 20 December 1836, 9 April 1837, 13 March 1838, and 15 July 1838.

[91]Dunham, Diary, 3 May–9 June 1840.

reason lay with the rapid unfolding of events. "A new scene of things are about to transpire in the west, in fulfillment of prophecy," he wrote. He signed his letter, "J Dunham Lamanite."[92]

En route to the eastern tribes, he stopped in Kirtland where he dispensed even stronger meat. The American nation was about to be destroyed, Dunham told friends, but a place of safety was being prepared for the Saints near the Rocky Mountains. These and some of Dunham's other millennial doctrines left the Kirtland community very much on edge. "Such teachings are not all understood in this place," wrote one member seeking clarification from Nauvoo authorities. "They are calculated to make excitement & what the consequences may be I am not able to say." The worried Kirtland correspondent of course had in mind the frequent and explosive anti-Mormon epithet of LDS "Indian tampering," which for him was more than a theoretical question. Dunham's letter had fallen into the hands of a Universalist minister, who after reading it was ready to believe the worst. The Mormons "ought to be seen to," he was heard to say.[93]

Among the western Indians, there was a different response. After enduring the pain of being removed from their traditional lands, they must have welcomed the Mormons' offers of friendship and their expressions of Indian destiny. Certainly Dunham was excited by the response he had received. Many Lamanites were "believing the Gospel," he told colleagues, a calculation that may have included Hendricks himself.[94] During the next half dozen years, the chief would receive the repeated and solicitous attention of the Mormons. But the success of the Dunham mission lay more than in finding believers, or at least sympathizers. For the Mormons, it seemed the confirmation of their millenarian view. "Lamanite Jacob" and the "end of the gentile" were now fully joined by a counterpoint that had been developing since the Church's beginning: "the West as refuge."

The preaching forays of Butler, Emmett, Dunham, and perhaps others may be what Church secretary William Clayton had in mind when he described Joseph Smith's "original measures" of having Mormon representatives move from tribe to tribe, trying "to unite the Lamanites and find a

[92]Dunham to Hyrum Kellogg, quoted in Thomas Burdick, Letter to unnamed correspondent, 28 August 1840, Joseph Smith Papers, LDS Church Archives.

[93]Burdick, Letter to unnamed correspondent.

[94]James Blakeslee, Letter to George A. Smith, Journal History, 20 September 1840.

home for the Saints."[95] Oliver Olney, a disaffected Mormon who claimed to know the plans of Smith and other leaders, spoke in the same vein. First a few Saints, Olney suggested, would go "by degrees" into the West, to be followed by a general exodus of the people. When Smith's followers were at last in the sanctuary of the Rocky Mountains, they would unite with the Native Americans and forge a powerful people. Such a scheme, Olney asserted, had been the Mormons' long-held dream.[96]

These ideas may help explain the presence of several Indian deputations that came to Nauvoo during the early 1840s. The Sauk and Fox were the first, led by the celebrated Keokuk. The Mormons regaled the one hundred chiefs, warriors, and family members, who ferried the Mississippi River in "full dress"; and Joseph Smith earnestly spoke to them about the history and promises of their people as contained in the Book of Mormon. Smith also added several exhortations to good behavior, with which the usually pliable Sauk chieftain promised to comply. Several years before he had secured a copy of the Book of Mormon, Keokuk said, and now he told Smith, "I believe you are a great and good man."[97] The *Warsaw Signal,* always a thorn to the Saints, reported an additional theme of the discussion. The two parties, the newspaper said, talked of the New Jerusalem, "to which they were all going to emigrate."[98]

The Pottawatamies provided an even more interesting visit in the spring of 1843. The Mormons had had contact with various branches of the tribe since the start of their movement, and many Missourians had linked the two groups as co-conspirators, perhaps because both were viewed as seditious. The Pottawatamie had long defied the American advance onto their lands and had allied themselves to the British during the War of 1812. When meeting with Smith, Chief Apaquachawba and his companions poured out an unhappy vial of complaint. The white man, they said, had "distressed and oppressed" the Pottawatamies, driven them from their homes, and now their numbers were dwindling.

[95]Clayton, Diary, 1 March 1845, in Andrew F. Ehat, "'It Seems Like Heaven Began on Earth': Joseph Smith and the Constitution of the Kingdom of God," *Brigham Young University Studies,* 20 (Spring 1980): 269.

[96]Oliver Olney letters, 20 and 22 July, 4 and 6 October 1842, Beinecke Library, Yale University, microfilm LDS Church Archives.

[97]*History of the Church,* 4:401; Alexander Neibaur, Journal, 12 August 1841, Special Collections, Lee Library.

[98]*Warsaw Signal,* 25 August 1841, 2, Morgan File.

The Native Americans had come to do more than complain. They had been told that Smith spoke with the Great Spirit, and they wished his advice and aid. Would the Mormons join the recently formed mutual defense alliance of the ten confederated tribes of the Indian Territory? At least, would Smith send some of his "chiefs" to confer with them? To confirm their anti-American credentials, they showed Smith a large British medal of silver, emblazoned with a half moon and the King's crown, no doubt a relic of their earlier alliance.

When the Pottawatamies had arrived in Nauvoo a day or two before, the Mormons had scurried to find an interpreter. They had been forced to employ a long-standing opponent, and now Smith tried to avoid further difficulties with him and his similarly disposed friends by talking past the Indian offer. His hands were tied, he said; and as for the question of sending envoys to the Pottawatamie villages, that was impossible. The visibly moved prophet, however, advised the Indians to stay unified and peaceful and to pray to the Spirit. The future, he promised, would be kinder. Then raising the Book of Mormon in his hand, the Mormon leader gave the prescription for their redemption: "This tells what you will have to do."[99]

The local Indian agent, Henry King, thought the Mormon protestations of peace were hollow. "It seems evident," King wrote to the Iowa governor, "from all that I can learn from the leading men among the *Mormons* and from various other sources that a grand conspiracy is about to be entered into between the *Mormons and Indians* to destroy all white settlements on the frontier." King believed the attacks might begin within the next few months.[100]

Clearly the expulsion of the Saints from their lands near the Indian Territory had not exorcised the fear of Mormon "Indian tampering"—and with some reason. For behind the carefully measured public words of Smith, the Mormons continued to work to realize their millennial hopes, which centered on Indian conversion and coordination. Less than two weeks after the departure of the Pottawatamies from Nauvoo, despite Smith's earlier

[99]Mr. Hitchcock, Letter to John Chambers, in John King to John Chambers, 14 July 1843, Iowa Superintendency, 1838–49, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–81, BIA Microfilm #363, 357–60; Helen Mar Whitney, "Scenes and Incidents in Nauvoo," *Woman's Exponent* 11 (1 October 1882): 70; and *History of the Church*, 5:479–81. The latter incorrectly cites the Wilford Woodruff journal as its documentary source.

[100]John King, Letter to John Chambers, 14 July 1843, Iowa Superintendency, 1838–49, Letters Received, 360.

protestations to the contrary, the Mormon prophet again dispatched Jonathan Dunham on an "exploring excursion to the west," a phrase that was only half true. Increasingly, future events would show, these words were a code for Indian work.[101]

During the past several years, Dunham had risen rapidly in Nauvoo society. Now Joseph Smith's confidant (Dunham "shall not want a friend while I live"), he had been given command of the Second Cohort of the Nauvoo Legion and would soon be one of its senior commanders, while his Indian activity was gaining him equal recognition among Nauvoo insiders, who privately called him "Black Hawk."[102] In July 1843, Dunham made his way into Iowa Territory, where he passed among the Sacs and may have spoken with Sioux and Winnebago representatives. But his primary mission lay with the Pottawatamies, who provided him with a prearranged guide to their villages just south of present-day Omaha, Nebraska. Unfortunately, the content of his mission is lost. His otherwise detailed journal says nothing of his negotiation with the tribes' headmen, after which government authorities ordered him from the area.[103]

As Dunham traveled back to Nauvoo, the Pottawatamies were close behind. One hundred tribesmen reportedly moved east to the Des Moines River, out of which a smaller delegation was chosen to go to the Mormon capital, this time bringing their own interpreter.[104] They arrived in Nauvoo two days after Dunham's return, bringing several important questions. Federal authorities had been anxious to clear the title to more land for American settlement. Should they sell, the Indians asked? The tribesmen also had a larger and potentially a more explosive question. Taking their earlier request for a Mormon alliance one step further, they wondered if Smith would be willing to become their "father" or protector?

Given the frontier fears of both the Mormons and the Pottawatamies,

[101]14 July 1843, *History of the Church*, 5:509.

[102]Journal History, 2 April 1842 and 12 June 1843; *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, edited by Dean C. Jessee, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1992), 2:417; Joseph Smith, Journal, 26 August 1843, Joseph Smith Papers, LDS Church Archives; *Warsaw Signal*, 29 October 1845, 1. Subsequently Dunham became the Nauvoo "Wharf Master" and led the Nauvoo police. Journal History, 16 December 1843, and *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844–1861*, edited by Juanita Brooks (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 162.

[103]Dunham, Journal, 16 July to 26 August 1843. Most of these entries are published in *History of the Church*, 5:542–49.

[104]John King, Letter to John Chambers, 14 July 1843, Letters Received, 360; 28 August 1843, *History of the Church*, 5:556.

the last question was especially difficult; and Smith carefully replied in a formal letter, as though opponents were looking over his shoulder. To the first question, he suggested the Indians retain their lands "to live upon for yourselves and your children." The second required greater length. He was "happy to render . . . any assistance" in his power, he wrote, but his help must be consistent with the laws of the United States. "Should the United States appoint me as your [Indian] agent to transact your business for you I shall cheerfully comply; and will always do the best I can for you, but you know I cannot do any thing in this matter except it be appointed me by the authorities of our land."[105] Smith however left room for an additional, confidential response. He told the Pottawatamies that Dunham, who once more was preparing to go west, would tell them "more about this business." Thus, when the emissary left in late summer for another visit to the Pottawatamies, he carried with him the gifts of a hand-drawn map of the Pottawatamie lands and several fragments of Egyptian papyri left over from Smith's translation of the Book of Abraham—but he also bore Smith's private instructions.[106]

Six months later, Smith again tried to meet the demands of the Mormons' millennial Indian theology, while at the same time trying to avoid the responsibility of a public clamor. From the little Mormon lumbering colony on the Black River in Wisconsin, Apostle Lyman Wight and his companions wrote Nauvoo with a question. The Wisconsin Mormons had become "spiritual and temporal" counselors to several bands of Nenomomie, Chippeway, and Winnebago Indians, Wight said. These Native Americans had shown a "great anxiety" to hear the Mormon gospel and to receive the Book of Mormon, but wished to go to the southwest, perhaps to the Colorado River valley of Texas, where they believed their life would be easier. Wight hoped his settlement could go with them.[107]

How much of the Indians' plans were of Wight's making is unclear.

[105]*History of the Church,* 5:556; Joseph Smith to Pottawatamie Indians, 28 August 1843, Joseph Smith Papers, LDS Church Archives.

[106]Three years later, the Pottawatamies still had Smith's letter, map, and two papyri pages. Willard Richards. Journal, 11 July 1846, LDS Church Archives.

[107]For additional data and interpretation on Wight and his later activity, see Davis Bitton, ed., *The Reminiscences and Civil War Letters of Levi Lamoni Wight: Life in a Mormon Splinter Colony on the Texas Frontier* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970); and "Mormons in Texas: The Ill-fated Lyman Wight Colony," *Arizona and the West: A Quarterly Journal of History* 11 (Spring 1969): 5–26.

His name had been linked to rumors of Mormon Indian interest since his conversion in 1830.[108] He had named a son "Lamoni" after a Lamanite convert whose story was told in the Book of Mormon. Moreover, following the Missouri expulsion, he had spent six months with Smith in the Liberty, Missouri, jail, where the Mormon leader had plied him with talk about the Saints' obligation to the Lamanite and the beckoning vision of the West.[109]

Wight was attuned to Book of Mormon Indian promises and believed the time was ripe for their fulfillment. From "Green Bay [Wisconsin] to the Mexican Gulf," the mass of Lamanites cried out for Mormonism, he said. "Give us an understanding of your doctrine and principles," they seemed to be saying, "for we perceive that your ways are equal, and your righteousness far exceeds the righteousness of all the Missionaries that we have yet been acquainted with; that your conduct with one another is like that of ours, and all your feasts and attendant ceremonies are precisely like that of ours."[110]

The question of cooperating with the Wisconsin natives had deep implications. Unlike the quiet steps that Smith and his colleagues had already taken, Wight's proposal would place Mormon Indian policy in the glare of public knowledge. A Nauvoo council meeting of the Mormon leaders in February 1844 tried to have the best of both worlds. Wight was "on his own ground and must act on his own responsibility," Church leaders told the men who bore the Wisconsin petition to Nauvoo. But whatever the decision, Smith assured, Wight "shall never be brought into difficulty about it by us."[111] In short, while Nauvoo refused to accept responsibility for Wight's acts, the apostle had tacit permission to proceed.

During this same meeting, Smith took steps to implement parts of Wight's proposal. He authorized the organization of a western "exploration" company. Moses Smith, a prospective member, recalled that the Mormon prophet intended for twenty-five scouts to go west of the Missouri River

[108]Josiah Jones, "History of the Mormonites," *Evangelist* 9 (1 June 1841): 134–35; Affidavit of John N. Sapp, *Documents Containing the Correspondence,* 17.

[109]Lyman Wight, Letter to Sanford Porter, 7 December 1855, and Lyman Wight, Letter to Wilford Woodruff, 24 August 1857, Lyman Wight Correspondence, LDS Church Archives.

[110]Lyman Wight, et al., Letter to Joseph Smith and the Twelve Apostles, 14 February 1844, in Lyman Wight, *An Address By Way of an Abridged Account and Journal of My Life* (Austin, Texas: n.pub., 1848), 2.

[111]Joseph Smith, Journal, 20 February 1844; "Lyman Wight Biography," *Millennial Star* 27 (29 July 1865): 472; Wilford Woodruff, Diary, 20 February 1844, LDS Church Archives.

to explore the country and visit the Indian tribes. Their prescribed itinerary included northwestern Texas, New Mexico, the California and Oregon coast, with a return circuit of South Pass and Council Bluffs. The scheme emphasized Indian work. The Mormon leader asked the company to establish a settlement among the natives, where some of the group would remain until met by the emigrating body of the Saints.[112] Spiritual credentials were required. "I want every man that goes [on the expedition] to be a king and a priest," Smith said, apparently referring to the expected spiritual endowment of the soon-to-be-given Nauvoo temple rites. "When he gets on the mountains, he may want to talk with his God; [and] when with the savage nations [I want him to] have power to govern." In the process, a new city might be born in a day.[113] Like Wight's plan, Smith's proposal envisioned Mormon settlement in the West, the conversion of the Indians in the region, and the ushering in of long-foreseen last events.

Six weeks later, Smith's interest in the Native Americans had not cooled. He and his Council of Fifty met with eleven Native Americans. "We had a very pleasant and impressive interview," secretary William Clayton wrote without providing detail.[114] In another session the Council of Fifty discussed Wight's southwest proposal. A Mormon colony led by Wight should be placed near the "Cordilleras," or Rocky Mountains, at the headwaters of the Red and Colorado Rivers, Smith concluded, perhaps somewhere in the expansive American Southwest. After the meeting, Smith met privately with Wight and again confirmed the mission. His instructions on these two occasions, Wight recalled, were designed to bring the Lamanites the "knowledge of the truth, [thus] paving the way for the redemption of Zion and building the Temple in Jackson County." After Smith's final charge, given with "great zeal," the two men shook hands and said good-bye. The event carried a special poignancy and power. It was Wight's last meeting with his Prophet.[115]

This last Council of Fifty meeting may have been the event that another apostle, Amasa Lyman, later referred to. Joseph had given the leading elders a "frank relation" about their Lamanite mission and said "don't stop" till it

[112]"Obituary," *Gospel Herald* (Voree, Wisconsin) 4 (14 June 1849): 54.

[113]Smith, Journal, 20 and 23 February 1844.

[114]4 April 1844, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 128.

[115]Wight, *An Address by Way of an Abridged Account*, 4–5; and Lyman Wight, Letter to Prairie LaCross, Wisconsin, 29 November 1844, ibid., 5.

was accomplished.[116] Such advice was difficult for even Smith to follow. With events in Nauvoo pressing hard upon him and his campaign for the American presidency requiring the labor of the Church's elders, Smith postponed the western expedition until fall.[117]

The halt did not end Smith's Native American activity. There were a few last events that gave his career a symmetry. He had begun preoccupied by the Lamanite and interested in the West, and his final days had similar themes. Five days before his death, Smith and his closest associates passed over the Mississippi River. They thought they might find refuge from their troubles in the Rocky Mountains, they explained.[118] Then they returned to Nauvoo, where Smith, dressed in his Nauvoo Legion uniform and standing on a "small house frame," spoke to his followers before going to fateful Carthage. Only reminiscent accounts remain, but their reports appear faithful to themes that had compelled Smith during his life. You will yet be called upon to go the "*strongholds* of the Rocky Mountains," Smith predicted. "You will gather the Red Man . . . from their scattered and dispersed situation to become the strong arm of Jevovah." At that time, he continued, the Lamanite would become "a strong bulwark of protection from your foes."[119]

The next generation of Mormons—and their opponents—paid a great deal of attention to these ideas, but so had the men and women of Joseph Smith's era. Their Indian views made them unique. Other Christian missionaries tried to uplift and protect the American native, as the Saints had too, but none saw the Indian as an indispensable ally in the last-day drama that promised to cleanse the landscape and bring a new era. "In these points," one scholar judged, "Smith was completely original."[120] In the Mormon theological view, the Native American was not the European's noble savage of the wilderness. Nor was he the evil barrier to white man's progress

[116]"Council in Office," 27 February 1845, Bullock's Minutes.

[117]"Obituary," *Gospel Herald* 4 (14 June 1849): 54.

[118]*History of the Church*, 6:547.

[119]William Pace, Autobiography, 4, Special Collections, Lee Library. Pace was apparently quoting Alfred Bell of Lehi, Utah, who reportedly made a transcript of Smith's address. For other versions of the speech, which claimed to be copies of William Clayton's report, see Wilford Woodruff, Affidavit, 18 November 1878, and John S. Fullmer, Statement, 28 April 1881, John S. Fullmer Letter Book; both in LDS Church Archives.

[120]G. St. John Stott, "New Jerusalem Abandoned: The Failure to Carry Mormonism to the Delaware," *Journal of American Studies* 21 (April 1987): 76.

that so many American settlers thought. He was, instead, a tool of divine pleasure, soon to be the Lord's delight.

Mormon unusualness went further. A decade before the Oregon trailblazer or the California argonaut, before Manifest Destiny filled Americans with dreams of continental empire, Joseph Smith and some members of his small visionary band looked to the trans-plains West. If this "vision" later took on the additional meaning of "refuge," at the start the Mormons were looking for the person of their millennial dreams, the Native American. It was a religious quest that revealed a sincere belief.

The millennial Book of Mormon expectation of the Lamanite, so bright and exciting at the start, became in the course of events not just a promise but a burden. The demands of this obligation brought Church members from New York state to Missouri and began their movement to the West. If the Mormon trek cannot be understood without it, neither can much of the toil and "persecution" that was felt along the way. In a millennial outburst of faith, the first Mormons had sought "the Remnant," and their quest shaped their movement's history.

TWO RESTORATION TRADITIONS: MORMONS AND CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Richard T. Hughes

IN THE SPRING OF 1841, only eleven years after Joseph Smith and his colleagues had organized the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, four men met for debate at the Ridge Meetinghouse in the foothills of the Smoky Mountains, just east of Nashville in Smith County, Tennessee. Those four were John D. Lee and Alfonso Young, representing the Mormons, and Abraham Sallee and Samuel Dewhitt, representing the Churches of Christ. The second proposition for debate defined the critical difference between these two traditions. That proposition read: *Are the gifts and offices of the ancient Apostolic Church of Christ, necessary in this age, in order to constitute a perfect church or body?*[1] The Mormon preachers affirmed; the Church of Christ preachers denied.

In spite of their very fundamental differences, one finds in this debate two upstart Christian movements that, in many ways, shared far more in common with each other than they shared with any of the older denominations. Indeed, Mormons and Churches of Christ alike rejected the surrounding denominations which they viewed as "manmade churches" and

RICHARD T. HUGHES is Professor of Religion at Pepperdine University, Malibu, California.

[1]Debate between Mormons and Church of Christ in *Cribfield's Christian Family Library and Journal of Biblical Science* 1 (18 July 1842): 210. This journal published the proceedings of the debate in four issues: 18 and 25 July, and 1 and 15 August 1842 (hereafter cited as Debate, by page). I am grateful to Verne R. Lee of Loomis, California, for a typescript of John D. Lee, Diary, 28 and 29 May 1841. In the published debate, Lee's name appears as "John DeLee."

based their authority instead on their respective understandings of the ancient church of the primitive era.

HISTORIOGRAPHIC PRESUPPOSITIONS

To come to terms with these two traditions in the nineteenth century, then, we first must assess the intellectual heart and soul of each, namely, their restorationist orientation. In this task, however, we will find little help from most historians who write of Mormons and/or Churches of Christ from the perspective of social history. While several social historians have produced some of the finest work in recent years dealing with these traditions, most of these same historians typically have not taken the restoration ideal seriously as a powerful, defining theme in its own right. Often, if they acknowledge this ideal at all, they implicitly—and sometimes explicitly—explain it chiefly as a function of various social factors without which, one presumes, the restoration sentiment would collapse and disappear.

Thus, Rhys Isaac, speaking of the profoundly restorationist Separate Baptists of Virginia, altogether missed the power of the restoration ideal and interpreted Separate Baptists simply "as a popular response to a mounting sense of social disorder." Likewise, Gordon Wood ascribed the popularity of several restorationist traditions in the new Republic, including Baptists, "Christians," and Mormons, to "a social disintegration unequalled in American history."[2]

Again, Nathan O. Hatch explained the genius of both the "Christian" movement and the Latter-day Saints in terms of a populist, democratic revolt against their social betters. He viewed the "Christians" or Churches of Christ especially in terms of a "pervasive collapse of certainty within popular culture."[3] And Mormons he understood chiefly in terms of poverty and social estrangement. Thus, he wrote that "the *Book of Mormon* is a document of profound social protest, an impassioned manifesto by a hostile outsider against the smug complacency of those in power and the reality of social distinction based on wealth, class, and education. . . . The single

[2]Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 168, and Gordon Wood, "Evangelical America and Early Mormonism," *New York History* (October 1980): 365.

[3]Nathan O. Hatch, "The Christian Movement and the Demand for a Theology of the People," *Journal of American History* 67 (December 1980): 561, 546. See also Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 68–81.

most striking theme in the *Book of Mormon* is that it is the rich, the proud, and the learned who find themselves in the hands of an angry God."[4]

David Edwin Harrell, who has written eloquently and perceptively of the restoration theme within the history of Churches of Christ, has nonetheless explained that theme and its peculiar directions within this fellowship largely in terms of social forces. Thus, in attempting to explain the theological genius of Churches of Christ, he focused especially on the Civil War and argued that "social force, class prejudice, sectional bitterness, and theologies shot through with economic presuppositions were the base upon which doctrinal debates were built." He therefore judged that the sectarian theology of the largely southern Churches of Christ in the years following the Civil War often amounted to little more than "a thinly veiled appeal for backing to the supporters of the lost cause."[5]

Such judgments, I suspect, may often reveal more about the materialistic and scientific biases of those of us who inhabit the modern academy than they do about the spiritual struggles and insights of ordinary Americans some two hundred years ago. To the modern mind, steeped in the conviction that material reality is the only reality there is and convinced that spiritual concerns are but reflections of more fundamental material issues, the nineteenth-century search for the kingdom of God almost inevitably becomes a search for social and economic standing.

I would be the last to deny the substantial merit of these historians' arguments, so long as one does not imagine that they take us to the center of these traditions. Likewise, I would be the last to suggest that social and economic factors play no role in shaping religious perspectives, for they clearly do. Further, it is obvious that the methods and presuppositions of social history are especially productive when one studies movements that clearly are driven by social rather than by intellectual or spiritual concerns. But it may well be that the presuppositions and methods of social and economic history are ill equipped to uncover in a meaningful way the driving power behind such religious movements as Mormons and Churches of Christ.[6]

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[4]Hatch, *Democratization*, 116–17.

[5]David Edwin Harrell, *The Social Sources of Division in the Disciples of Christ* (Athens and Atlanta: Publishing Systems, Inc., 1973), ix; and "The Sectional Origins of the Churches of Christ," *Journal of Southern History* 30 (August 1964): 270.

[6]Furthermore, some restorationist movements were virtually driven by social and economic

Indeed, the historian who instinctively places social and economic issues front and center will almost inevitably miss the genius of restorationist movements in America, for most restorationist movements in antebellum America struggled with a profoundly spiritual crisis which simply cannot be explained by social, economic, and military pressures. That spiritual crisis typically revolved around the quest for the true church, for the kingdom of God, or for the sacred in the midst of a profane and fallen world. And that is a quest historians should take seriously in its own right.

One begins to grasp the immense dimensions of that spiritual crisis when one recalls how central had been the concern for the "true, apostolic church" among Puritans on both sides of the Atlantic.[7] Further, as Dan Vogel recently pointed out, this concern bedeviled a host of British and American Seekers from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, including Lucy Smith, the mother of Joseph.[8] Moreover, this concern stood at the very center of American restorationist traditions like Mormons and Churches of Christ.

Religious pluralism in the United States, however, compounded the problem beyond measure for those who began with this concern. Joseph Smith tells us that he found himself "in darkness and confusion" over this very issue. Accordingly, the crisis that stood at the very heart and soul of the Mormon experience in the early nineteenth century was neither economic nor social but spiritual, captured in the question Joseph put to the Lord in the spring of 1820: "which of all the sects was right—and which I should join."[9] John D. Lee echoed this same concern in his debate with the Church of Christ preachers at the Ridge Meetinghouse in 1841. "We now see six hundred and sixty sects," he lamented, "all professing to be the

considerations, for example, Elias Smith's "Christian" movement in New England in the early nineteenth century, as Nathan Hatch accurately points out. Hatch, however, is on far less solid ground in identifying the same social and economic motives as central to Alexander Campbell and Barton Stone, also leaders of nineteenth-century "Christian" movements. Hatch, *Democratization*, 68–81.

[7]Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, published for Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1988).

[8]Dan Vogel, *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 25–28.

[9]See Joseph's "First Vision," in Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1964 printing), 1:4–6.

Church of Christ. Each sect contending for its own infallibility—and each contending that every other one is wrong." Then Lee asked that simple but penetrating question which lay at the heart of the spiritual crisis that ultimately defined both Mormons and Churches of Christ in the nineteenth century: "Why is this?"[10]

This question, however, seems both quaint and irrelevant to most Americans in the waning years of the twentieth century when tolerance and pluralism have become an accepted way of life. Accordingly, historians, with little sense of the spiritual urgency of that question and schooled in the scientific methods and materialistic presuppositions of modern social history, often find lurking beneath such a question overtones of social and economic deprivation. Such presuppositions not only miss the spiritual core of many restorationist traditions but also tend toward a variety of conclusions unsupported by the evidence. Thus, several recent studies have simply overturned, in many instances, the conventional wisdom that Mormon primitivism reflects social and economic deprivation. These studies have pointed out that the Kirtland Saints in the mid-1830s stood far closer to the economic mainstream of their neighbors than generally has been supposed.[11] After exploring the evidence, Grant Underwood finally concluded that "if Mormon millenarians wished to see the world destroyed, it was because it had deprived them of spiritual, not economic, opportunity."[12]

All of this suggests that intellectual history, not social history, may be the path that will lead us into the center and core of most of the restorationist movements of the antebellum United States.

The Spiritual Core of the Restoration Vision

If we choose to follow that path, we quickly make several important and highly relevant discoveries. First, we learn that the restoration vision was in no way peculiar to antebellum America, much less to the process of democratization or to social marginality in the new republic. Instead, this vision in the modern world grew from the bias toward pure beginnings

[10]Debate, 238.

[11]Mark R. Grandstaff and Milton V. Backman, Jr., "The Social Origins of Kirtland Mormons," *Brigham Young University Studies* 30 (Spring 1990): 47–66; and Marvin S. Hill, C. Keith Rooker, and Larry T. Wimmer, "The Kirtland Economy Revisited: A Market Critique of Sectarian Economics," *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (1977): 391–472.

[12]Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, forthcoming).

generated by the Christian Humanists in the Renaissance who despaired of the moral and intellectual corruption of their age. Through the influence of the universities, this theme quickly dominated the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation, especially in Zurich. Reformed leaders like Heinrich Bullinger and Martin Bucer exerted powerful influences on the English to find the center and core of the Christian faith in the restoration theme. It is little wonder, then, that during the Marian Exile, the commitment to primitive Christianity became a defining characteristic of the Puritan party.[13]

From there, the restoration vision took two routes in its journey to America. The first route, important for Mormons, took the Puritans across the Atlantic to the New World where the restoration vision became fundamental to their task. In New England, then, one finds the intellectual tradition that finally shaped a young seeker by the name of Joseph Smith. Indeed, the ways in which both Puritans and Mormons virtually reenacted the sacred dramas from both Old and New Testaments were strikingly similar—and that was not coincidental.

The second route, important for Churches of Christ, was far more circuitous and involved an extensive layover in Scotland. John Knox carried the restoration vision from England to his native land where it became central to Scottish and later to Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism. Thousands of those Presbyterians later settled in the middle colonies, in the American South, and in northern Appalachia. Among them were the earliest leaders of Churches of Christ—Thomas and Alexander Campbell in northern Virginia and Barton W. Stone in Kentucky and Tennessee. Especially in the South, Baptists and Methodists also shared the vision of the primitive Christian faith. Little wonder, then, that Churches of Christ found there an especially fertile soil for their appeal to "the ancient order of things."

Clearly, then, by the time of the American Revolution, restorationist thinking had become an important fixture in American intellectual life from New England to Georgia. Further, it proliferated and thrived, especially between the Revolution and the Civil War. There are several social and cultural factors that prompted this proliferation and, indeed, it is precisely in this context that the work of the social historians is particularly valuable.

[13]This history is spelled out in more detail in Richard T. Hughes, "Christian Primitivism as Perfectionism: From Anabaptists to Pentecostals," in *Reaching Beyond: Chapters in the History of Perfectionism*, edited by Stanley Burgess (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1986), 213–23. The Marian Exiles were English Protestants who accepted self-imposed exile to the Continent to avoid persecution from Queen Mary, a zealous Catholic.

First, there can be no doubt that the radically democratic and populist qualities of American life in the early nineteenth century rendered the restoration vision especially urgent. Here, the work of Nathan Hatch is particularly helpful. Indeed, if Americans had abolished the tyrannies of princes and kings in the political realm, Christian primitivists now sought to do the same in the religious realm by declaring the jurisdiction of Christian history null and void.

Second, the American political system seemed radically new, altogether discontinuous with any political system that had ever gone before. The Great Seal of the United States captured this perception with the phrase, *novus ordo seclorum* (a "new order of the ages"). But if the American political system was new, it was also ancient, even primeval, descending, as Thomas Paine insisted, from God himself, at the beginning of the world.[14] In short, this new democratic order stood outside human history, derived from the primordium and now restored in the American millennial dawn. Such a powerful cultural myth would inevitably quicken and heighten the centuries-old restoration vision that a variety of English dissenters had brought to these shores.

But of all the social and cultural factors that facilitated the restoration vision, none was more important than the bewildering array of churches that competed on the American frontier. This was the problem that prompted Alexander Campbell to seek to unify American churches by pointing them to the apostolic faith. And this was the problem that prompted Joseph Smith to ask the Lord which of all the churches was His own. Indeed, this was the source of the spiritual crisis that demanded an answer. The solution came, both to Mormons and to Churches of Christ, in the venerable form of the restoration heritage, now quickened and heightened by democratic expectations and by the radical newness of the American experience.

Thus, Walter Scott, one of the early leaders of Churches of Christ, was simply mistaken when he ascribed the success of the early Mormons to principles he thought the Mormons had learned from the Campbellites. Indeed, he charged that Sidney Rigdon "filched from us" the concept of immersion for the forgiveness of sins, thus accounting "for the success of the ministers of Mormonism."[15] This myth has been a powerful theme among

[14]Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine* (New York: Citadel Press, 1945), 1:376, 1:273–75.

[15]Walter Scott, "The Mormon Bible," *The Evangelist*, New Series, 7 (1 July 1839): 160.

Churches of Christ from the 1830s until the present day. Nothing, in fact, could have been further from the truth. Mormons succeeded for the same reason that Churches of Christ succeeded: each inherited a restoration vision which spoke in powerful and urgent ways in the cultural climate of antebellum America.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MORMONS AND CHURCHES OF CHRIST

Yet for all their similarities, Mormons and Churches of Christ were radically different. The most striking difference obviously involved Mormonism's new scripture, the Book of Mormon, and its latter-day prophet, developments which Churches of Christ rejected. Indeed, those two developments have dominated anti-Mormon rhetoric on the part of Churches of Christ for more than a century and a half. Yet to focus on the Book of Mormon and the prophet obscures both the fundamental similarity and the fundamental differences between these two traditions.

The fundamental similarity which must be recognized is the profoundly restorationist quality of both churches. Churches of Christ, however, find it difficult to discern in Mormonism any restorationist dimension whatsoever. A restorationist, according to most in Churches of Christ, is one whose restorationist efforts concentrate exclusively on the New Testament. Thus, one of several who took me to task for involving Latter-day Saints in last summer's conference on "Christian Primitivism and Modernization,"[16] complained, "I am asking you to explain what rationale was used in including the Mormons in a conference such as this. Is it your view . . . that the Mormon church is seeking to restore primitive Christianity?" That, of course, is precisely my view; but to understand the crucial difference between Churches of Christ and Latter-day Saints in this regard, we must resort once again to intellectual history.

Our beginning point is the recognition that the restoration vision is, in a fundamental sense, a vacuous vision. It is finally nothing more than a method, a perspective, that looks backward to what one discerns as the first and therefore normative time. In this context, to say that one focuses on the Bible is hardly adequate, for there are many ways of reading and interpreting the Bible, each shaped and informed by one's intellectual presuppositions. This means that to understand Mormonism and Churches of

[16]A conference on "Christian Primitivism and Modernization: Coming to Terms with Our Age," Pepperdine University, Malibu, California, 6–9 June 1991.

Christ, we must first understand the intellectual traditions that shaped and molded these two movements. What we find, however, is not at all straightforward or simple to unravel, for both Mormonism and Churches of Christ drew on intellectual traditions that in many ways competed with one another and that pointed in very different directions.

Churches of Christ

In the case of Churches of Christ, the two competing traditions were apocalyptic revivalism and Enlightenment progressivism. The apocalyptic revivalistic perspective belonged to the earliest leader of Churches of Christ, Barton W. Stone, who performed the bulk of his ministry in Kentucky and Tennessee. Stone's thought bore the indelible imprint of Calvinism, on the one hand, and revivalism on the other. Indeed, by virtue of his teachers, Stone stood squarely in the heritage of the Great Awakening and then, in 1801, emerged as a pivotal leader of the Great Kentucky Revival at Cane Ridge.

Revivalism and Calvinism together bred in Stone an apocalyptic outlook which became the cornerstone of his life, often expressing itself in an explicitly premillennial eschatology and virtually defining his restoration vision.[17] Convinced that the kingdom of God would finally triumph over all human governments and institutions, Stone and his considerable band of followers remained fundamentally pessimistic about human progress.

Further, they exhibited far less interest in the formal structures of the church than in the rule of God over human affairs. They therefore conceived of primitive Christianity chiefly in terms of biblical ethics and refused to serve in the military or vote, since all human governments, they imagined, stood squarely under the judgment of God. Time and again, they summoned one another to abandon themselves in the interest of the poor, to free their slaves, and to reject both fashion and wealth.

This apocalyptic/ethical emphasis, with its negative assessment of human progress and human culture, comprised the earliest understanding of primitive Christianity among Churches of Christ. Indeed, long before

[17]By *apocalyptic* I do not mean *premillennial.* The apocalyptic view is the conviction that one belongs not to the kingdoms of this world but to the kingdom of God which finally will triumph over all human institutions. Premillennialism, on the other hand, points to how God's kingdom will come, namely, through the premillennial second coming of Jesus Christ. As it turns out, Stone was both apocalyptic and premillennial in his outlook, but his apocalyptic perspective was the fundamental term in his thought.

Churches of Christ in Kentucky and Tennessee had even heard of Alexander Campbell, Stone had mobilized some two hundred preachers and a membership of perhaps twenty thousand.[18] It is little wonder, then, that his pessimistic, apocalyptic orientation prevailed among many Churches of Christ, especially in their Middle Tennessee heartland, until World War I when those churches embarked on the process of modernization and acculturation.[19]

In the meantime, however, the second intellectual tradition—that of the Enlightenment—increasingly came to dominate Churches of Christ, especially through the leadership of Alexander Campbell whose restoration vision I choose to call *rational, progressive* primitivism. A Scotch-Irish immigrant who settled in Bethany, Virginia (later West Virginia), Campbell arguably became the most influential first-generation leader among Churches of Christ over the long term. Steeped in Lockean empiricism and the "Baconian" perspective of the Scottish "Common Sense" Realists, Campbell rejected Stone's apocalyptic outlook and embraced a robust, postmillennial optimism about the world in which he lived. Indeed, Campbell imagined that through a rational and scientific reconstruction of primitive Christianity, he and his movement would unify a fragmented Christendom and, as a consequence, raise the curtain on the millennial dawn.

In keeping with his rational vision, Campbell concerned himself not so much with biblical ethics as with the forms and structures of the ancient church. He viewed the New Testament almost as a divinely inspired, scientific text which supplied precise directions for admission into the church, for church organization, for proper worship, and for a variety of other details pertaining to church life. Further, just as a scientific experiment carried out in the same way under the same conditions would yield the same results time and again, in the same way, Campbell imagined, faithful attention to biblical directions would produce the same church today that it produced in the days of the apostles.

With such a scientific perspective and in the political climate of antebellum America, it was inevitable that Campbell's followers would increas-

[18]R. L. Roberts, "Early Tennessee and Kentucky Preachers," photocopy of typescript in my possession.

[19]Richard Hughes, "The Apocalyptic Origins of Churches of Christ and the Triumph of Modernism," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 2 (Summer 1992): 181–214.

ingly view the New Testament as a veritable constitution for the church. Indeed, this was the central metaphor which the Church of Christ preachers used against their Mormon opponents in the Tennessee debate of 1841. Accordingly, Samuel Dewhitt argued that the New Testament "is *perfect,* and . . . all which is necessary to constitute a perfect church or body is obedience to that law. The Apostles were lawgivers acting by divine authority. The Elders were only executive officers whose business it was to see these laws enforced. If the laws, given by the Apostles, were sufficient to constitute churches in *their* day—we having the same laws, need nothing more."[20]

He continued: "When the framers of the Constitution of the United States of America had formed that instrument their work was accomplished, and that duty ceased and can never be resumed until the Constitution is abolished and it becomes necessary to make another. Now Jesus Christ and his Apostles made the laws for his government on earth, and the overseers of the Church now have nothing to do but to see those laws executed."[21] Here, in these statements, we find the very heart of the restorationist perspective, conformed to the contours of Enlightenment thought, that dominated Churches of Christ under the influence of Alexander Campbell.

It is important to recognize, however, that both Abraham Sallee and Samuel Dewhitt began their careers as Stoneite preachers, only later embracing the more rational and more progressive primitivism of Alexander Campbell. This point is instructive since Campbell's Enlightenment optimism eventually buried Stone's apocalyptic influence in virtually all quarters of the movement[22] and, in so doing, paved the way for extensive modernization and acculturation among Churches of Christ in the twentieth century.

Latter-day Saints

When one turns from Churches of Christ to the Latter-day Saints, one enters a radically different though no less restorationist world. The restoration vision among Latter-day Saints drew from both apocalypticism and the Enlightenment, and in this, they shared with Churches of Christ. But Romanticism quickly emerged as the defining intellectual influence on Latter-day Saints, and this was the difference that made *all* the difference.

[20]Debate, 236–37.

[21]Ibid., 237.

[22]Anthony L. Dunnavant, ed., *Cane Ridge in Context: Perspectives on Barton W. Stone and the Revival* (Nashville: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1992).

Though he never spelled it out, Harold Bloom hinted at this point when he praised the imaginative genius of Joseph Smith and consistently placed Smith in the company of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Indeed, Bloom confessed, "I myself can think of not another American, except for Emerson and Whitman, who so moves and alters my own imagination."[23]

While American Romanticism shared with the Enlightenment a profound celebration of human potential, it stood starkly opposed to the scientific constrictions and materialistic biases of Enlightenment ideology. Indeed, romantics of practically every stripe—including both spiritualists and transcendentalists—sought to shed their earthy constraints, to enlarge the boundaries of the human spirit, and to touch in some meaningful way that spiritual realm that transcended the merely rational structures of the here and the now.

When we understand the genius of American Romanticism, we draw near to the genius of the restoration vision as articulated by Latter-day Saints. They cared little for the forms and structures of primitive Christianity, rationally perceived and reconstructed as ends in themselves. Instead, they hungered for communion with the divine, valuing forms and structures only insofar as they facilitated that communion. They longed for the heavens to open and for God himself to descend once again to humankind, just as he had done in the days of Adam, Moses, David, John, and Paul. Moreover, they were convinced that no restoration could occur apart from immediate, divine authority which would come as contemporary and continuous revelation. Further, Romanticism served Mormons as the eclectic umbrella under which they drew from Judaism, Christianity, Masonry, and the American experience, fusing their selections into a grand perspective that pointed beyond itself and beyond all its singular components to the infinite that embraced them all.

Mormons, from their distinctly romantic perspective, occasionally lampooned and scorned the rationalist and materialist biases of their own age as grossly inferior to their own romantic vision. Perhaps no one in all of early Mormon literature more effectively captured this contrast than Parley P. Pratt:

> Witness the ancients conversing with the Great Jehovah, learning lessons from the angels, and receiving instructions by the Holy Ghost, . . . until at

[23]Harold Bloom, *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 102, 127.

> length the veil is taken off and they are permitted to gaze with wonder and admiration upon all things past and future; yea, even to soar aloft amid unnumbered worlds.... Compare this intelligence with the low smatterings of education and worldly wisdom that seem to satisfy the narrow mind of man in our generation; yea, behold the narrow-minded, calculating, trading, overreaching penurious sycophant of the nineteenth century who dreams of nothing here but how to increase his goods, or take advantage of his neighbor, and whose only religious exercises or duties consist of going to meeting, paying the priest his hire, or praying to his God, without expecting to be heard or answered, supposing that God has been deaf and dumb for many centuries, or altogether stupid and indifferent like himself.[24]

Indeed, for Latter-day Saints, the fall of the church from its perfect original occurred not in the loss of material forms and structures which might now be rationally perceived and restored, but rather in the loss of divine revelation and the wonder-working power of the Holy Spirit. In the absence of immediate revelation, human beings had taken it upon themselves to interpret the Bible through human wisdom and human rationality, and to erect a myriad of denominations which were miserable substitutes for the true church of Christ, founded on the wonder-working power of God. Even Campbell, Mormons claimed, for all his restorationist rhetoric, had acted without immediate, divine authority, and therefore had founded yet another manmade sect.[25]

This was precisely the point which the Mormons made in their debate with Abraham Sallee and Samuel Dewhitt in 1841. Thus, when John D. Lee inquired into the reasons for religious pluralism in the United States, he quickly answered his own question. "We answer," he affirmed, "because they have lost the spirit which was possessed by the primitive Christians, and they lack the gifts which were originally and still are necessary to create a perfect church or body." Alfonso Young concurred. "The church was once perfect and united," he declared, "and why is it not so now? I answer, because the professed Christians of the present day deny spiritual influences. In short, because they neither possess nor seek the *gifts* which the apostles and primitive Christians possessed."[26]

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[24]Parley P. Pratt, *A Voice of Warning* (1837; reprint ed., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1978), 88.

[25]Parley P. Pratt, "Grapes from Thorns, and Figs from Thistles," reprinted from *Millennial Star* in *Writings of Parley Parker Pratt*, edited by Parker Pratt Robison (Salt Lake City: Parker Pratt Robison, 1952), 303.

[26]Debate, 238, 236.

In short, the debate at the Ridge Meetinghouse in 1841 featured two religious movements which shared a common restoration heritage but which had conformed that heritage to radically different intellectual molds: the Enlightenment and Romanticism. Perhaps in no single exchange was the difference between these two molds more effectively illumined than in the exchange over the relation of faith to miracles. The Church of Christ preachers, following John Locke and Alexander Campbell, claimed that miracles functioned as empirical evidence which in turn produced faith. John D. Lee, however, turned this conception virtually upside down. "I will not only contend that miracles do not produce faith," he argued, "but that faith is necessary for the production of miracles." Later in the debate, he elaborated on this very point: "If Christians of the present day would exercise the same measure of faith and obedience as did the primitive Christians, they would receive the same blessings which were enjoyed by the first disciples of Christianity. *They* spake with tongues and wrought miracles. And so would Christians of the present day if they possessed the same faith and exercised the same degree of obedience and holiness."[27]

When one discerns the power of the romantic vision in antebellum America, one is hardly surprised to learn that disillusioned members of the Church of Christ in Mentor, Ohio, abandoned Alexander Campbell for Joseph Smith and thereby comprised the first corps of converts to the Latter-day Saints. At one level, those conversions are easily understood, for the converts simply moved from one restoration tradition to another. Yet, at another level, the conversions are puzzling. Why the disillusionment with Campbell and why the attraction to Joseph Smith? And even more puzzling, why would these converts begin with a church rooted in the Enlightenment, then abandon that church for one more in tune with the romantic mood of the time?

In effect, to ask that question is to answer it. Elizabeth Ann Whitney in many ways spoke for all the converts: "My husband, Newel K. Whitney, and myself were Campbellites. We had been baptized for the remission of our sins, and believed in the laying on of hands and the gifts of the spirit. But there was no one with authority to confer the Holy Ghost upon us." Or, as John Murdock, an 1830 convert from Churches of Christ to the Latter-day Saints, reported, "finding their principal leader, Alex Campbell, with

[27]Debate, 217, 236.

many others, denying the gift and power of the Holy Ghost, I began to think of looking me a new home."[28] Indeed, Whitney and Murdock were essentially romantics whom Campbell initially attracted by virtue of his restoration vision. But the Enlightenment dimensions of Campbell's vision chilled them.

This romantic thirst for a direct encounter with the Spirit of God turned the restoration vision among Mormons in several directions which the rationalistic Churches of Christ would find incomprehensible. First, it meant that Latter-day Saints viewed as normative the entire Bible, not the New Testament alone, for the entire Bible contained the records of a God who routinely broke into the orbit of human affairs to commune with humankind. For this reason, Latter-day Saints found no compelling reason to distinguish between Old and New Testaments as did Alexander Campbell. For his part, on the other hand, Campbell thought simply absurd the Book of Mormon idea that "the Nephites . . . were good christians, . . . preaching baptism and other christian usages hundreds of years before Jesus Christ was born!"[29]

Second, Latter-day Saints had little interest in mere obedience to biblical commands and replication of biblical data. Indeed, they never viewed the Bible as data at all. Instead, they viewed the Bible as story, as drama in which they themselves were participants along with Adam and Eve, Enoch, Abraham and Sarah, the patriarchs and their plural wives, Moses and Miriam, Paul and Dorcas. As Philip Barlow recently observed, Joseph Smith "placed himself *inside* the Bible story" and put "endings . . . on stories that had their beginnings in the scriptural text." Or, as Jan Shipps has pointed out, Mormon restorationism involved far more than mere replication of events of the biblical long ago. It involved instead a "recapitulation" or a virtual living out of those events in the here and now.[30] To the rational mind of an Alexander Campbell, such an agenda seemed sheer nonsense. But to one who approached the restoration task from the perspective of Romanticism,

[28]Edward Wheelock Tullidge, *The Women of Mormonism* (New York: Tullidge and Crandall, 1877), 41–42; and John Murdock, "Abridged Record of the Life of John Murdock, taken from his Journals by himself," 4–10; typescript copy courtesy of Milton V. Backman, Brigham Young University.

[29]Alexander Campbell, "Delusions," *Millennial Harbinger* 2 (7 February 1831): 87.

[30]Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 21; and Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 53–65.

as many did in antebellum America, such an agenda was irresistibly compelling.

Third, the romantic dimensions of the Mormon restoration led Latter-day Saints to place enormously more importance on the experience of God than on the Bible itself. Indeed, for Mormons, the Bible simply pointed beyond itself to divine power and authority which not only manifested itself in the first age but which continued to manifest itself in the here and now. This attitude clearly accounts for the fact that Joseph Smith felt comfortable revising the Bible—an act that would have horrified Alexander Campbell. The act of revision itself abundantly proclaims the romantic dimensions of the Mormon faith. As Barlow points out, Smith never sought to determine "the intent of the ancient authors." Instead, he "used the Bible less as a scholar than as a poet," or as Barlow finally concludes, as "a prophet."[31]

Fourth, if the heart of Churches of Christ was their appeal to a fixed and permanent first-century norm which would never change, the principle of continuing revelation meant that the heart of Latter-day Saints was change and adaptation, guided by a latter-day prophet. This difference had enormous implications for the way in which these two restoration traditions would adapt themselves to the modern age.

Finally, if Romanticism provided the intellectual underpinnings for the restoration vision of Latter-day Saints, and thereby dramatically separated Mormons from Churches of Christ, there is a sense in which the inner dynamics of Mormons and Churches of Christ in the early nineteenth century were fundamentally similar. For if early Churches of Christ split on their assessment of human progress, so did the Latter-day Saints. Indeed, like the followers of Barton W. Stone, Latter-day Saints were profoundly apocalyptic and even premillennial and, therefore, deeply suspicious of human potential apart from the divine initiative.[32] This theme dovetailed nicely with their peculiar brand of Romanticism, for the Saints looked not to human reason but to the Spirit of God to open the heavens and speak to humankind, to establish God's people in Zion, to defeat their enemies, and to renew the earth.

Simultaneously, Latter-day Saints shared profoundly in the spirit of optimism which characterized Alexander Campbell—but with a difference. If Campbell exuded optimism over human progress and the larger culture,

[31]Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 73; see also 70.

[32]See Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism*.

the optimism of the Saints pertained not so much to the larger culture as to the Saints themselves. We find this optimistic strand especially in Mormon soteriology, perhaps classically expressed in Joseph's King Follett Discourse of 1844: "God himself was once as we are now, and is an exalted man, and sits enthroned in yonder heavens!" Lorenzo Snow later summarized the point, "As man now is, God once was; as God now is, man may become." Whatever one makes of this passage, it clearly expressed enormous confidence in human potential. Further, as the nineteenth century wound on, that confidence became more and more central to Mormon thought.[33]

There is no reason to ascribe this optimism to the Enlightenment, for it squares well with the exuberance over human potential that characterized many romantics. At the same time, however, Mormon optimism inevitably absorbed Enlightenment characteristics. Thus, an 1833 revelation proclaims: "The glory of God is intelligence" (D&C 93:36). By 1889, Orson F. Whitney combined that theme with the notion of eternal progression: "So says Joseph Smith. Intelligence is the glory of God. It is his superior intelligence that makes him God. The Gospel . . . is nothing more or less than a ladder of light, of intelligence, or principle, by which man, the child of god, may mount step by step to become eventually like his Father."[34] Little wonder, then, that Brigham Young could praise education "in every useful branch of learning" and urge his people "to excel the nations of the earth in religion, science, and philosophy."[35]

The fundamental question regarding Latter-day Saints, therefore, has to do with the relation between the pessimistic, *re*gressive strands of Mormon thought, on the one hand, and the optimistic, *pro*gressive strands of Mormon thought on the other. In the case of Churches of Christ, Enlightenment optimism finally triumphed over apocalyptic pessimism and thereby paved the way for full-scale modernization. My sense is that precisely the same pattern has prevailed among Latter-day Saints.

Conclusion

Finally, we conclude where we began, with a consideration of the scholars. Klaus Hansen's work is relevant here in a backhanded kind of way

[33]See, for example, O. Kendall White, Jr., *Mormon Neo-Orthodoxy: A Crisis Theology* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), esp. chap. 3.

[34]In ibid., 83.

[35]In ibid., 79.

since his reading of Mormonism stands precisely opposite to my own. Indeed, Hansen found Mormonism essentially a reflection of Enlightenment optimism and order, radically opposed to Romanticism. He drew this conclusion because he interpreted the restoration vision as an Enlightenment phenomenon, virtually antagonistic to the romantic mind, and because he imagined that few in antebellum America had much interest in such a peculiar, restorationist worldview. Joseph had asked, "Which of all the sects was right?"; however,

> most American Protestants had been sufficiently influenced by the romantic mood so that the question simply never occurred to them. Conversion was an individual experience that could happen to a Baptist as well as a Methodist or a Presbyterian. All of them had a pathway to heaven; as long as they got there, it did not matter very much how. In the literal mind of Joseph, however, there had to be one church that was objectively true.[36]

It is manifestly the case that Joseph searched for a church that was objectively true. But objectivity for Joseph—and for Latter-day Saints in antebellum America—was not a matter of rational and scientific precision, as it was for Alexander Campbell and the Churches of Christ, and as it is for the modern mind today. It rather was a matter of the immediate power of God which carried for Latter-day Saints fully as much objective truth as the Bible carried for Alexander Campbell.

When all is said and done, that was the critical difference between Mormons and Churches of Christ in nineteenth-century America.

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[36]Klaus J. Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 70–71.

The Significance of Trivia

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich

Although I did not know Juanita Brooks personally, her work and life had an influence on mine. In 1970, when a group of us in the Boston area agreed to edit a "women's issue" of *Dialogue,* we asked Juanita Brooks to contribute an essay. Because I knew and admired her historical writing, I was both surprised and delighted when her essay, "I Married a Family," arrived in my mailbox. For a young Mormon mother struggling to define an intellectual life, it was a great comfort to know that a renowned historian had once hid her typewriter under the ironing.[1] Juanita Brooks's example taught me that housewives could be thinkers, too.

I did not follow Juanita Brooks into Mormon history. I once thought of doing so. When I applied to the graduate program in American history at the University of New Hampshire, I intended to write about Mormon culture, but my first graduate seminar distracted me into the colonial period and I have been there ever since. I was pleased, however, when Douglas Alder asked me to speak at the Mormon History Association meetings

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LAUREL THATCHER ULRICH, a founding editor of *Exponent II* and its longtime columnist, is winner of the Bancroft Prize, the Joan Kelly and John H. Dunning Prizes of the American Historical Association, the Pulitzer Prize for History, and the $320,000 John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Award for her women's history, including *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991). She is an associate professor of history at the University of New Hampshire State. She and her husband, Gael Ulrich, are the parents of five children. This paper was originally presented at the annual meeting of the Mormon History Association, 16 May 1992, in St. George, Utah, as the Juanita Brooks Lecture, cosponsored by Dixie College, Obert C. Tanner, and the Utah Humanities Council, and is separately published in that lecture series.

[1]Juanita Leavitt Brooks, "I Married a Family," *Dialogue* 6 (Summer 1971): 15–21.

about the methods I used in writing *A Midwife's Tale* and to make some suggestions about their relevence to Mormon diaries.

I can illustrate my approach to Martha Ballard's diary with a family anecdote. My oldest son, Karl, an engineer, pleased me immensely by taking my book along on vacation. To my delight, he actually read it. "Mom, what amazed me about the book was how free you were to go beyond the facts," he commented. "The book is so imaginative." A few weeks later, Karl's wife, Nancy Bentley, a professor of American literature, read the book. Part way into it, she exclaimed, "It's so scientific!"

Karl and Nancy are not the first to point out that *A Midwife's Tale* uses methods from both literature and the social sciences. Perhaps that has something to do with the fact that I had two degrees in literature before I began a Ph.D. in history. But my approach is really not unique. History is an eclectic discipline. By its very nature it bridges fields. At my university, the history department is housed in the Horton Social Science Center, but most of the faculty participate quite happily in the activities of the humanities division. I find history exciting because of its commitment to facts and because of its invitation to imagination.

A few years ago, at a Mormon History Association meeting at Canandaigua, New York, I ran into a friend, Paul Dredge. I asked him what an anthropologist was doing at a history meeting. He told me that he had recently discovered how interesting history could be. "When I was a student I thought of historians as mere fact gatherers," he said. "Now I know that they are also pattern makers." I have used that story frequently in my own teaching. History is both fact gathering and pattern making. That is one of the things that makes it so challenging.

Today I would like to try to illustrate the fact gathering and the pattern making in *A Midwife's Tale.* Since the time is limited, I have decided to select one theme. I deliberately picked the most "boring" theme in the book, the seemingly most trivial. I am not going to talk about the 814 births recorded in Martha Ballard's diary or her adventurous journeys on the Kennebec River. Nor will I talk about the rape trial, the murders or suicides, or Ephraim Ballard's imprisonment for debt. In honor of Juanita Brooks's ironing, I am going to talk about housework. I hope to convince you that housework does indeed have a history, a history as important for understanding pioneer Utah as for understanding eighteenth-century Maine.

The first thing to note is that housework has not always been limited

to the house. Martha Ballard, like other women of her time, was responsible for growing food, milking cows, attending ewes as they birthed their lambs, and raising poultry as well as for processing and preserving food and manufacturing cloth and clothing. Her "housework" was as often done with a shovel as a broom. She pitched snow out of unsealed upstairs chambers in winter, shoveled manure from under the outhouse into her garden in the spring, and every fall banked the foundation of her house with dirt, shoveling it away in the spring.[2]

Martha Moore Ballard was born in Oxford, Massachusetts, in 1735. She and her husband and five children emigrated to the Kennebec River country of central Maine in 1777. Three other children had died in the terrible Oxford diptheria epidemic of 1769. The Ballards' ninth and last child was born in Maine in 1778. Martha's diary opens in January 1785, when she was fifty years old. It continues, unbroken, for twenty-seven years, ending in May 1812, a few weeks before her death at the age of seventy-seven. The diary is a rich and revealing record of ordinary life in a formative period of our nation's history, a unique chronicle of obstetrical and medical practices in eighteenth-century Maine, and a moving account of aging and death in preindustrial America. But it is not easy to use.

Without a pattern to guide interpretation, the accumulation of facts sometimes becomes overwhelming. It is one thing to read about Martha's exciting canoe ride on the Kennebec River at the height of the spring "freshet." It is another to comprehend her laconic references to beans put into the ground, yards of wool "got out" of the loom, or visitors entering or leaving the house. Little wonder that her town's nineteenth-century historian pronounced most of the entries "brief and with some exceptions not of general interest." Although a later writer incorporated an abridged and expurgated version of the diary in his own *History of Augusta,* he too found much of the diary "trivial and unimportant . . . being but a repetition of what has been recited many times." A recent history of childbirth came to the same conclusion. "Like many diaries of farm women," it concludes, Martha Ballard's diary "is filled with trivia about domestic chores and pastimes."[3]

[2]For a brief description of the range of Martha Ballard's work, see my essay "Martha Ballard and Her Girls: Women's Work in Eighteenth-Century Maine," in *Work and Labor in Early America* edited by Stephen Innes (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 74–78.

[3]James W. North, *History of Augusta* (Augusta, Maine: n.pub., 1870), 297; Charles Elventon

My effort to recover Martha Ballard's life was in large part an enterprise in recapturing the historical significance of "trivia." I began by counting things. If historians could learn from documents as dull and impersonal as tax lists, census records, and deeds, why not from the seemingly unrevealing lists in a woman's diary? Not knowing quite where I was going, I constructed data sheets with codes for washing, weaving, spinning, brewing, gardening, and other such things. Using these sheets, I was able to count the incidence of virtually every activity mentioned in the diary. It was a little bit like shoveling manure. To keep my sanity, I used the data sheets for even-numbered years, taking more traditional qualitative notes for those in between.

Somewhere in the middle of all this, I was invited to contribute an essay to a volume on the new labor history of early America. I began to tally up my check marks. It was soon obvious that some entries in the diary (like church-going, births, or records of visitors) were very systematic and that others were erratic, seemingly random. The entries for laundry were especially puzzling. Was I to assume that the Ballards had clean clothes four times in June 1796 but only once between the beginning of April and the end of June in 1792? I set the problem aside and began the laborious task of identifying the helpers in Martha Ballard's household from 1785 to 1800. Suddenly the pattern fell into place. Martha Ballard was less likely to mention laundry when somebody else was around to do it.[4]

Martha Ballard's seemingly trivial struggles with washday helped me to unlock an important theme in the history of the northern rural economy—the waxing and waning of household labor. Colonial historians have contrasted the family labor system of New England with the slave labor systems of the south and the Caribbean and the indentured servitude common in the Middle Atlantic, but few historians have probed the inherent instability of family labor. Family laborers arrive as helpless infants; when they are at the height of their productivity they leave to form families of their own. Furthermore, in a society that structures work according to gender, they come in unpredictable mixtures of boys and girls. The pressures on female

Nash, *The History of Augusta: First Settlement and Early Days As a Town, Including the Diary of Mrs. Martha Moore Ballard (1785–1812)* (1904, reprint ed., Augusta, Maine: n.pub., 1961), 234; Richard W. Wertz and Dorothy C. Wertz, *Lying-In: A History of Childbirth in America* (New York: Schocken, 1977), 9.

[4]For a detailed discussion of this data, see Ulrich, "Martha Ballard and Her Girls," 88–105.

labor are compounded in newly settled areas where daughters tend to marry earlier than sons.

When Martha Ballard's diary opened she was at the peak of her own productivity. At the age of fifty she not only had energy and economic resources but teenaged daughters at home. By developing her textile production capacity, she was able to keep them there. Her diary entry for 26 October 1789 puts it succinctly: "My girls spun 23 double skeins & wove 27 1/2 yds last weak & did the houswork besides."[5] With Dolly and Hannah and their cousin Parthena Barton available to milk the cow, feed the chickens, and prepare food for the men, Martha was able to develop her midwifery practice to its capacity of more than fifty deliveries a year. The interdependence of the mother and daughters defined the harvest period of the Ballard family economy, a period corresponding with the first ten years of the diary.

When the last daughter married, the diary subtly changed. For the first time, Martha began to use her laconic entries to explore her own feelings. Consider this entry for 15 January 1796:

> Cloudy. I was at Mr Mathews. His wife was delivered at 6 hour morning of a fine daughter after a severe illness. Her first Child. I received 9/. Made a present of 1/6 to the infant. I returnd home and find my house up in arms. How long God will preserve my strength to perform as I have done of late he only knows. May I trust in him at all times and do good and hee will fullfill his promis according to my Day. May he giv me strength and may I Conduct accordingly.[6]

In the left hand margin of the entry she wrote "Birth 4th" even though this was only the third birth of the year. In the right margin she wrote, "This is the 612th Birth I have attended at Since the year 1777. The first I assisted was the wife of Petton Warrin, July 1778." Her handwriting got smaller and smaller as it moved down the page. As she faced her own small crisis, the difficulty in maintaining an arduous obstetrical and medical practice without trustworthy help at home, she began to contemplate her own history.

This is one of the places in *A Midwife's Tale* where systematic analysis of data was insufficient. I was, after all, dealing with a literary document, a document that despite its formulaic quality was shaped by the personality

[5]*A Midwife's Tale*, 80.
[6]Ibid., 206–7.

and circumstances of its author. This is probably one of the places in the book where Karl thought I felt free to leave the "facts" behind. This is what I wrote:

> Martha prayed not for ease or for release from her burdens, but for *strength,* for the physical ability to continue the work she had done for so long. . . . Her body ached. The attacks of colic were coming more frequently. She had no one to preserve order at home when she walked out under the stars to serve her neighbors: "find my house up in arms." The image is a curious one, as though the floorboards, pothooks, and bedsteads had risen against her. It was not her husband and sons who were disturbed. If they had been home at all, they had gotten their supper and breakfast themselves, leaving their platters and mugs, unmade beds, and stiffening stocks behind them. It was no human enemy but Martha's *house* that had taken up arms against her.
>
> . . . The phrase is idomatic, of course, yet it suggests an attitude. A house could be an adversary. Turn your back, and it rippled into disorder. Chairs tipped. Candles slumped. Egg yolks hardened in cold skillets. Dust settled like snow. Only by constant effort could a woman conquer her possessions. Mustering grease and ashes, shaking feather beds and pillows to attention, scrubbing floors and linens into subjection, she restored a fragile order to a fallen world.
>
> This instrumental, near-adversarial relationship to her house is obliquely confirmed by the dearth of positive references. She celebrated the growth of lambs and parsley in her diary, but never the arrangement of her furniture or rooms. . . . Whenever possible, she delegated routine housework to others.
>
> In her universe, "Girls washt" was an important statement, something on the order of "got across the river safely."[7]

I admit to having extended Martha's metaphor in my own discussion of this passage, but I would argue that my interpretation was not simply a flight of imagination (or projection). I am sure that my own encounters with housework helped me to see more in this entry than I might otherwise have done, but I was very conscious as I wrote of the details of late eighteenth-century (as opposed to late twentieth-century) housekeeping, of the rhythm of men's work in the Ballard family, and of the overall treatment of houses and housekeeping in Martha's own record. Beyond that I was interested in bringing to life a theme that seemed to me central to the larger biography.

More difficult to analyze than the work entries in the diary were the endless lists of visitors. I counted those, too. But again I tried to move beyond quantification to a deeper probing of the document before me. I tried to understand the relationship between these bland lists of names and

[7]Ibid., 218–19.

other entries in the diary. Above all I tried to understand what these names meant to Martha. The issue was not what Martha left out that I wanted to know but what Martha put in that she needed to know. Gradually I began to see the patterns that had eluded me. Names were a kind of shorthand for social and economic transactions that literally held together Martha's world. A family mode of production of necessity encompassed wide ranging exchanges with neighbors. Families continually reached toward a self-sufficiency that eluded them. A wage economy concentrated lines of dependency; household economies survived only by spreading their debts, by weaving a complex web of obligation capable of sustaining the household in difficult times.

Wives as well as husbands were engaged in exchanges beyond the household. On 9 September 1788, for example, while Ephraim Ballard and his sons were at a town meeting, Martha and one of her neighbors were busy concluding some private business of their own: "Mrs Savage here. Shee has spun 40 double skeins for me since April 15th and had 2 Bushl of ashes & some phisic for James, & Dolly [Martha's daughter] wove her 7 yds of Diaper. I let her have 1 skein of lining warp. The whole is 6/ [shillings]."[8]

Such entries represent a minimal record of Martha's economic exchanges with her neighbors. Most transactions never made it into the diary. On 21 June 1787, for example, she reported that Merriam Pollard had "sent home 5 lb of poark which shee Borrowed 12 of April 1786," but the entry for 12 April says simply, "I went to Mr Williams. Mrs Pollard came home with me." Much of the diary can be reduced to just such a simple grammar of coming and going: "I went to Mr Westons" (or Pollards, or Howards, or Husseys, or Fosters). "Mrs Savage [or Densmore or Burton or Hamlin or Woodward] came here."

In summary, *A Midwife's Tale* emphasizes the importance of understanding the family life cycle in the history of women's work. It argues that in a rural economy in which male names dominated on storekeeper's accounts, tax lists, and census records, women were engaged in viable and largely autonomous economic activities, that home production was supported by a lively system of exchange in which women bartered and traded with each other independent of their husbands. Martha Ballard's laconic listing of her work was in part a validation of it. "For her, living was to be measured in doing. Nothing was trivial."[9]

[8]Ibid., 73.

[9]Ibid., 9.

The content and the cadences of Martha Ballard's diary are echoed in women's writings from early Utah. Notice the flow of goods in these entries from the diary of Eliza Partridge Lyman during her early days in the Salt Lake Valley:

> April 19, 1849: Sold a ball of candle wick for 3 ½ quarts of corn.
>
> April 25, 1849: Carded and spun 3 balls candle wick. Jane James a colored woman let me have about 2 lbs of flour it being about half she had.
>
> June 11, 1849: Mother carried the cotton yarn that she has carded and spun to the weavers. Maria Lyman sent us some cloth for pillow cases and a few dried apples.
>
> September 6, 1849: Made a Babies dress for sister Rich, for which I get 1 lb of wool."[10]

Eliza used the verb *sold* where Martha Ballard might have written *gave* or *received,* but the dual responsibilities to produce and to exchange are as pronounced in one diary as the other.

The similarities with Patty Sessions's diary are even more apparent. Sessions took up the practice of midwifery in rural Maine as Martha Ballard was laying it down, and the two diaries are cut from the same pattern. Martha Ballard began hers at the age of fifty, Patty Sessions at fifty-one. Both diaries intersperse household accounts, records of visitors, and general observations with midwifery records. Both are laconic, Sessions's perhaps even more so than Ballard's. "Sowed turnip seed . . . weeded garden. . . . Put Sister Harper to bed with a son born 6:30 PM. . . . baked and brewed."[11] Which diarist is writing? In this case, Patty Sessions, in July 1863. It might just as well have been Martha Ballard in 1793. Martha would have said "Mrs" where Patty said "Sister," of course, and she usually "wed" rather than "weeded" her garden, but the style and even the content of the diaries are markedly similar.

At this level of analysis, the differences between the diaries seem almost accidental. Yet to argue that Eliza Lyman's transactions were identical to Martha Ballard's or that Patty Sessions was simply a Maine midwife transplanted to the arid West is not only to deny much that is distinctive about Mormonism but is also to overlook profound changes in the construction

[10]In Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey, and Jill Mulvay Derr, *Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982), 261–71.

[11]Diary of Patty Sessions, typescript, 97, Historical Department Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

of gender in the United States: 1793 was not 1863, in Maine or in Utah. There is much in Martha Ballard's story that is generic to rural women across the United States and much that is particular to a Maine river town in the late 1700s. Martha's diary is representative of a folk genre that persisted well to the end of the nineteenth century and that has descendants in the line-a-day diaries of our parents, but it was not the only literary form available to nineteenth-century women. To use Martha Ballard's diary as a pattern for studying Mormon women's writings is to insist upon detailed reconstruction of all the particulars of their lives.

Utah women were part of a utopian, communal experiment that introduced a new dynamic – plural marriage – into an already complex family labor system. When Eliza Lyman made her diary entries about carding and spinning candle wick, she was living in a log cabin with her mother, her fifteen-year-old brother, and two sisters, one of whom was already a "sister wife" and the other who would eventually become one. The household also included Eliza's baby and a child by one of the other plural wives. "Mr Lyman," she wrote, was present "part of the time."[12] What happened to the traditional division of labor in such a household? How did plural marriage affect the overall division of female and male labor within a community? How did relations of affection or authority change as women who might have been temporary helpers in their sisters' or neighbors' households instead became "sister wives"? Certainly there is a great deal more to be learned about the social organization of daily life in early Utah.

Interwined with this theme is another. Martha Ballard's hand spinning took place in an age when no other method was possible, Eliza Lyman's in an age of water-powered textile production. The age of hand-production was prolonged in Utah not only because of a frontier setting but because of the religious need to achieve territorial self-sufficiency. There is a striking echo here with the promotion of home industry in the Revolutionary era and during the conflict leading up to the War of 1812. The difference, of course, is that by the time the first company arrived in the Great Salt Lake, the Industrial Revolution had already begun to transform the United States economy. How did the competing dynamics of family production and factory production intersect with Mormon communalism in early Utah? And how did that affect women's labor?

[12]Godfrey, Godfrey, and Derr, *Women's Voices,* 248, 414, note 3.

Historian Jeanne Boydston has argued that the wage economy that replaced rural productivity in the northeastern United States in the first half of the nineteenth century changed the ideological meaning of women's work even more dramatically than its content. This transition was occasioned not so much by changes in women's work as by a shift in male economic authority from land owning to wage earning. True, much production passed out of the household; but with an elevated standard of decency, new work entered. Housewives continued to sew, mend, and launder clothing; grow, preserve, and cook food; and care for the frighteningly mortal bodies as well as the eternal minds of their children. But in the prescriptive literature that defined the emerging doctrine of "separate spheres," women's household labor lost its identity as work. As Boydston explains: "The language of the ideology of spheres was the language of gender, but its essential dualism was less precisely the opposition of 'female' and 'male' than it was the opposition of 'home' and 'work,' an opposition founded on the gendering of the concept of labor."[13]

Men worked; women were "at home." The 1980s bumper sticker, "Every mother is a working woman," is a humorous rejoinder to that still prevalent nineteenth-century construction.

Furthermore, as Richard Bushman has explained, middle-class Americans in the nineteenth century adopted values that in the eighteenth century had been confined to the gentry. They sought to beautify their homes and yards, polish their manners, and cultivate leisure. For middle-class housewives that meant hiding their productive activities in a now-invisible kitchen in order to present a ladylike appearance on the front porch or parlor.[14] The euphemism "lady" for "woman" originated in this transition. Martha Ballard saw her marriage as an economic partnership. Women worked or the family did not survive. A generation later, men supported women.

These three factors—plural marriage, the quest for territorial self-sufficiency, and the changing ideology of women's work—play under the surface of two documents from late nineteenth-century Utah, the memoir of Lucy Meserve Smith and the diary of Sarah Davis Thatcher.

Lucy Meserve Smith was born in 1817 in Newry, Maine, not far from

[13]Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 159.

[14]Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992).

where Patty Sessions lived. Lucy was proud of her New England origins. The memoir which she wrote in Salt Lake City in 1889 is filled with stories of pioneer life on the Androscoggin (she called it the "Andrew Scoggin") River where her grandparents settled in the late eighteenth century.[15] Even her memories of early years in Utah are shaped by New England stories. She told of making sugar from "Honey Dew" that appeared on the cottonwood and willow leaves one "very dry warm spring and summer," using techniques she had seen her mother use with maple syrup.[16]

Lucy became one of six plural wives of George Albert Smith. In the 1850s she lived with "Sister Hannah" in Provo. It was there that she attempted to establish another New England tradition—the spinning bee or frolic. Spinning bees can be traced to at least the 1750s in New England. They are most visible during the pre-Revolutionary boycotts of 1769–70 and 1810, but they continued in some towns into the 1820s. Newspaper stories emphasize the competitive aspects of the spinning bees and tie them to the political objective of establishing political and later economic independence from Great Britain. My own research has shown that even at the height of the pre-Revolutionary fervor, most spinning bees were organized around churches, and the yarn was donated to the minister and his wife or to the poor.[17]

Lucy's spinning bee seems to have been a spontaneous and essentially private affair, organized by four Provo women, probably in the early 1850s:

> When things got a little more plenty myself Sister Eliza Terril, Sister Rua Angeline Holden and Sister Hannah Maria Smith took our spinning Wheels and went to a large room in the Seminary and tride our best to see who could reel of the greatest No. of knots from sunrise to sunset. Sister Terril 100, 11. knots. Sister Holden not quite so many but better twist on hers. Sister H. M. Smith and I made the best yarn. It was equal for twist but I had a few knots the most but she spun and reeled 80. knots. On the whole we concluded we all beat.[18]

The details of this story, the all-day work, the careful measuring of

[15]Lucy Meserve Smith, Historical Sketch, 1889, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

[16]This and other selections from Smith's sketch have been published in Godfrey, Godfrey, and Derr, *Women's Voices*, 262–72.

[17]Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Daughters of Liberty: Religious Women in Revolutionary New England," in *Women and the Age of Revolution* edited by Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, 211–43 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1989).

[18]Smith, Historical Sketch, 41; also in Godfrey, Godfrey, and Derr, *Women's Voices*, 265.

skeins and twist, fit well with the New England models. Her comic description of a contest in which everyone "beat" is not out of character with the cooperative character of women's work in early New England, though it may say something as well for the anxieties of communalism in early Utah. Her good-humored reference in a later passage to "playing" on the "Whimmikie Whammikie two Standard Lillikie Strikiety Huffity Whirlimagig (Flax Wheel)" also highlights the sociability of early textile production.

This is not inconsistent, however, with genuine pride of craft. By the time Lucy was born, spinning factories had already taken over much of the production of plain cotton thread; but the handspinning of wool continued, and the availability of "factory warp" actually accentuated rather than retarded home weaving at least until the 1840s. Even though Lucy went to work in a "cotton factory" for a short while before joining the Saints in Nauvoo,[19] her memoir emphasizes hand production.

The Daughters of Utah Pioneers Memorial Museum in Salt Lake City owns a linen tablecloth with a hand-netted fringe said to have been used in "the George Albert Smith home in Provo." It looks very much like early nineteenth-century linen made in New Hampshire and Maine. I have no doubt but what it was Lucy's. Plural marriage may have encouraged a higher level of specialization than would have been possible for a monogamous wife. As she explains in her memoir, "I sat in my loom month after month and wove while Sister Hannah and the boys did the other work."[20] Like Maine weavers of her generation, Lucy was not content with mere utilitarian production but wove patterns into the ground of plain homespun linen. "The draft work was very hard and dificult to get every figure right," she recalled, "[but] that I would have if I had to undo a half yard."[21]

Lucy's memoir, written in old age, celebrates productivity. Now dependent on others, she wants the world to know she was once a worker:

> I can count up nearly 50 bed coverleds I have woven. I carded and spun the cotton and formed the draft, and wove one counterpin for myself, which

[19]Smith, Sketch, 16. The introductory notes in Godfrey, Godfrey, and Derr, *Women's Voices*, 261, say that Lucy worked in the Lowell (Massachusetts) textile mills, but I found no reference to Lowell in her sketch. There were many small spinning mills throughout New England, some in rural Maine. She may have gone to Massachusetts where water-powered weaving as well as spinning developed in the 1830s. She could also have worked in a small, rural factory. Hand weaving coexisted with factory weaving in New England at least until the 1850s.

[20]Ibid., 59.

[21]Ibid., 51.

is yet good. If my friends could know of the great amount of spinning cotton flax tow and wool, and the many hundreds of yard of draft work such as diaper and carpets besides the white counterpins, and coverleds, besides six years work in the cotton factories, with the addition of being driven from my home in the winter, having scurvy for lack of vegatables &c, They would wonder that I am alive say nothing about my helpless condition at the presant time.

I have colored many pounds of yarn with madder, Indigo, Logwood, Redwood, Cochineal, Bagle [?] wood, Tan Bark cotten-wood bark, coperas, allum, sage-brush, yellow weed, Onion-peals, and Magenta. I have cut and made dresses cloaks coats pants and Temple suits with their aprons &c.... I have cut torn and sewed hundreds of pounds of rags for carpets and rugs, also woven many rag carpets braided and sewed many mats and rugs, I have braided Palm-leaf and straw-hats and sewed the straw hats myself. I have knitted stockings, socks, and mittens nearly enough to fill a barrel. I have also knitted yards of edgings and netted a few yds.

I have done considerable nice quilting, besides cutting, peacing, and carding bats. I have also carded bats and tacked mattresses, and comforters for the beds.

I took a few lessons in drawing and a few lessons in French.[22]

Lucy's French and drawing lessons gave her a modest claim to gentility, but industry is the dominant theme in her story. The memoir is a personal plea for understanding. But it is also a nostalgic recreation of a world that has passed. Like her counterparts in New England, Lucy Smith lived to see the end of the "Age of Homespun" and with it a profound redefinition of women's work.

Lucy's memoir contrasts sharply with the diary of Sarah Davis Thatcher. Sarah Davis was born 14 October 1852 in Salt Lake City. She was six years old when her older sister Rachel married John Bethuel Thatcher of Logan, Utah. When Rachel was almost forty, Sarah became John's second wife in plural marriage. Rachel, the mother of five rambunctious sons, ages four to nineteen, and two daughters, ages eight and ten, may initially have welcomed her sister's help. But cohabitation proved difficult. "I couldn't even put on the potatoes to cook right," Sarah complained to her diary.[23] Sarah's first child was born in February 1878, six months before Rachel's eleventh and last child.[24] A few months later, Sarah moved to her own house.

Sarah Thatcher made intermittent but highly revealing entries in her

[22]Ibid., 59–61.

[23]Sarah Davis Thatcher Diary, typescript, 1, Roy Thatcher Family Papers, University of Utah, Marriott Library, Special Collections.

[24]Ibid., 5.

journal. For our purposes one of the most interesting describes a family quarrel over a piece of calico.

> July 11, 1880: John had got me calico for two dresses and ten yards for aprons for myself and children. R[achel] told Mother T. that day that John grumbled at getting so much calico for me, and she told him he mustn't get any more wives if he couldn't keep the ones he had. He said he was going to get one who could keep herself next time. That made me angry, and I said I didn't think he'd find many that would do better than I had, for it was the first time he'd brought me any calico dresses, and this is the fourth sumer I've been his wife. R. said Oh! I'd had one before. Yes, but that was off of a bolt of damaged that only cost 5 cts. a yard, I said. I think they'd better throw that at me. That dress cost 55 cts.[25]

That argument could have continued in several directions. Sarah could have said, "I do my own work. I sew and knit and garden and milk. I take care of the children, and incidentally they are your children, too. I earn what little you give me." Instead, she challenged John's ability as a provider. For his part, John was willing, in the midst of an argument, to fall back on an older definition. He wanted a wife who could keep herself.

Rachel had made an effort to add to the family income. The winter before her father had sent her "8 pounds of yarn to knit for himself and family." Sarah knit thirteen pairs of socks in one week.[26] Purchased goods color Sarah Thatcher's diary in the way that handmade textiles color Lucy Smith's memoir. The entry for 10 June 1879 is typical:

> June 9th is quite a memorable day for me I have been thinking today. In the first place Frankie cut his first tooth, nearly 16th months old too. Next John bo't me a nice stone jar to put my butter down in, and, thirdly he got me a large looking glass. Just a common one, but nice. I have been over helping R. with her carpet rags all day today but didn't get three pounds sewed.

Again Sarah deprecated her own productivity but found validation in John's willingness to provide.

These brief comments are meant to be suggestive, not definitive. I am pleased to know that several scholars are now at work transcribing and editing diaries of nineteenth-century Mormon women. Building on the pioneering research of Juanita Brooks, Leonard J. Arrington, Carol Cornwall Madsen, Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, Kenneth Godfrey, Audrey Godfrey, Jill Mulvay Derr, and others, these projects promise to enlarge the bound-

[25]Ibid., 13–14.

[26]Ibid., 5.

aries of Mormon history. Perhaps the "domestic trivia" in Martha Ballard's diary will also encourage new attention to the mundanities (and profundities) of housework.

Masons and Mormons: Released-Time Politics in Salt Lake City, 1930–56

Frederick S. Buchanan

Introduction

When I observed to a non-Mormon acquaintance that Salt Lake City had the lowest percentage of school-age children in private or parochial schools in the nation (currently about .5 percent), my acquaintance disagreed. From his perspective, given Mormonism's pervasive cultural influence, all public schools were *de facto* parochial schools, supported by taxes. He felt compelled to send his children to a private school that expressed his family's religious and social values.

While this generalization about the public schools in Utah has given generations of non-Mormon parents cause for concern, the schools of the

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FREDERICK S. BUCHANAN has taught history of education at the University of Utah since 1970 and has published articles on the history of Mormon education in the *History of Education Quarterly, BYU Studies, Utah Historical Quarterly,* and *Religious Education.* His other scholarly interest is the history of Scottish settlement in Utah. He edited *A Good Time Coming: Mormon Letters to Scotland* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press 1988) and wrote "The Ebb and Flow of Mormonism in Scotland, 1840–1900," for *BYU Studies,* both of which received MHA awards in 1988. This article is drawn from a book in progress currently entitled "A Century of Public Schooling in Salt Lake City, 1890–1990." The author appreciatively acknowledges the research support of the University of Utah's University Research Committee, the Department of Educational Studies, and the Graduate School of Education, and of the Salt Lake City Board of Education, and the contributions of Scott R. Buchanan, Diana Campanella, Dee Darling, Brenda Hansel, Larry Johnson, Jan Keller, James L. Kimball, Jr., and Juanita Barclay Wainwright.

Salt Lake City School District have been historically less inclined to formally reflect the Mormon cultural orientation than those in more rural areas.

For example, while prayer in public schools was a common practice in Logan and Panguitch in the 1960s, interviews with persons who attended Salt Lake City schools from the 1900s to the 1940s both suggest that neither prayer nor Bible reading were routine. Dorothy H. Smith, a teacher at Irving Junior High in the 1940s, reported that her colleague, Louise Benz, *did* begin first period classes with a silent prayer; however, Benz was a staunch Presbyterian.[1] According to Dean K. Christensen his father, Superintendent D. H. Christensen (1901–16) supported private religious education but "wanted the [public] schools absolutely independent."[2] Andrew C. Nelson, State Superintendent of Public Schools from 1900 until 1913, whose children attended public schools, did not consider Bible reading or classroom prayer "a matter of concern."[3] During the tenure of Superintendent M. Lynn Bennion (1945–69), an occasional returned missionary-teacher would refer to the "Word of Wisdom" in health classes or think "they must have prayer in the classroom." Glenn Culp, one of the Masons on the board would bring such instances to Bennion's "attention in a nice way," according to Bennion, who then would talk to the teachers, pointing out potential harm to the non-Mormon children in their classes. Bennion stressed that he had the complete support of his Mormon-dominated board in excluding particular religious influences from the classroom. In a hundred years of Salt Lake City School District annual reports, Mormonism is not mentioned as a religious or even as a cultural phenomenon.

The lack of conspicuous or widespread religious observances in Salt Lake City schools, however, should not imply a lack of conflict. Salt Lake City's genuinely public schools were created as the result of a gentile-promoted law in 1890. It removed governance of Salt Lake City's schools

[1]I conducted oral history interviews under the auspices of the University Research Committee and the Everett L. Cooley Oral History Program at the University of Utah with Frances Grant Bennett, Wallace F. Bennett, Lowell L. Bennion, Merle C. Bennion, Dean K. Christensen, Kathleen Christensen Hall, M. Lynn Bennion, Dortha McDonald, Dorothy H. Smith, Dorothy Snow, Robert V. Bullough, Jr., Earl Harmer, and Amy L. Engar. Patti O'Keefe and Ladd Holt gave me insights into practices in rural schools. These histories, hereafter cited by name of interviewee and date, will eventually be deposited in Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

[2]Dean K. Christensen, 27 March 1990.

[3]Marion C. Nelson, Interview, 24 April 1990; M. Lynn Bennion, Oral History, 10 April 1974; audiotape in Special Collections, transcript in my possession.

from the province of twenty-one separate school districts, which were coterminous with the city's twenty-one LDS wards, and created a highly centralized ten-member board representing the five voting wards of the city. This political restructuring fits precisely the phenomenon that David Tyack, a historian of education, has observed: Decreasing the size of school boards was an effective way to reduce the power of minorities in many large American cities in the late nineteenth century, thereby "weaken[ing] the influence of 'troublesome classes' which had so disrupted the search for [one best] system" of education.[4]

From the beginning, Mormon-gentile fears assured a continuing struggle over the control of the schools. Mormons feared that secular schools would undermine the faith of their children, and non-Mormons feared that their children would be proselyted in the classroom. Under similar circumstance, the Roman Catholics of the nineteenth century and the Old Order Amish of the twentieth century organized private schools; but Mormon efforts to establish a private school system in the late 1880s failed for political and financial reasons.[5]

These tensions lessened over time as Mormons gradually accepted and used the public schools which their taxes supported and as non-Mormons became teachers and educational leaders beside their former antagonists. In fact, the National Education Association held its annual conference in Salt Lake City in July 1913, a tribute to Utah's position on the cutting edge of progressive education. By the 1920s and 1930s, old antagonisms seem to have disappeared in a climate of cordiality, tolerance, and good will.

This paper describes a notable and instructive exception: the issue of released-time seminary for high school students. Released-time was allowed by policy everywhere in the state except in Salt Lake City from seminary's beginnings in 1912 and growth through the 1920s and 1930s. Masons, who had periodically dominated the school board since 1890, successfully thwarted Mormon efforts to institute the policy from 1931 until 1943, when

[4]David Tyack, *One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), 97, 101–4, 148–54.

[5]The movement as a whole did not persist beyond the 1920s, although vestiges remain in its university system: Brigham Young University, LDS Business College, Ricks College, and BYU–Hawaii. John D. Monnett, "The Mormon Church and Its Private School System in Utah: The Emergence of the Academies, 1880–1892 (Ph.D diss., University of Utah, 1984). For a discussion of the Amish interaction with public schools, see my "The Old Paths: A Study of the Amish Response to Public Schooling in Ohio" (Ph.D diss., Ohio State University, 1967).

Mormons for the first time won a majority of seats. Vigorously attacked and defended along religious lines, this 1943 "shoot-out at the B of E corral" seemed to be repeating itself in 1956 over the issue of granting graduation credit for Bible seminary classes; but though still holding numerical superiority, the Mormon board of education retreated from the confrontation.

LDS Religion Classes, 1912–29

Mormons checked the "secularization" of instruction in the education process for elementary students through a parallel system of weekday religious instruction, the Religion Class movement of the 1890s. In 1912, they extended the concept through senior high schools when Granite Stake initiated seminary classes at Granite High School in Salt Lake County.[6]

This movement allowed parents to transmit their religious beliefs and values through systematic weekday instruction and was, according to Michael Quinn, the first attempt in the United States to supplement secular teaching with "separate weekday religious training."[7] By the 1920s an average of some 70 percent of LDS students in Utah were enrolled in the program; but in Salt Lake City where most of the children of General Authorities attended school, only about 10 percent were enrolled. Not until 1929 was the seminary program routinely available at East High and West High in Salt Lake City, even though eighty-five Mormon seminaries had been established in other LDS population centers.[8] Utah educator Earl Harmer, a Salt Lake City student in the late 1930s attended seminary at Roosevelt Junior High Mondays after school at the LDS 31st Ward Chapel. When he became a student at East High, seminary was held every morning before school in a small building opposite the schoolhouse.[9]

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[6]James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976), 482–83.

[7]D. Michael Quinn, "Utah's Educational Innovation: LDS Religion Classes, 1890–1929," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (Fall 1975): 379–89; see also my "Mormon Response to Secular Schooling." *Religious Education* 81 (Fall 1986): 643–54.

[8]M. Lynn Bennion, *Mormonism and Education* (Salt Lake City: Department of Education, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1939), 204–10; Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 302–3.

[9]Conversation with Earl Harmer, 8 July 1991; other 1930s descriptions are Joseph F. Merrill, "A New Institution in Religious Education," 12, 55–56, and Franklin L. West, "The Church in Education," 13–15, both in *Improvement Era* 41 (January 1938). The Church initiated a weekly junior high school seminary in 1929, with classes held in senior seminary buildings or in ward chapels. Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, 227–28. Currently in areas where ninth grade

One obstacle to released time was certainly Salt Lake City's gentile population, which remained alert to possible infractions of church-state separation. The *Salt Lake Tribune*, editorializing about the growth of the Mormon-sponsored Religion Classes in Salt Lake County communities in 1908, warned that, should Mormon sectarian control of public schools expand, "it will be but a short time until these classes are in the public schools of this city."[10]

A second factor inhibiting the growth of the Religion Class movement was a degree of tension between the teaching functions of the long-established Church auxiliaries and the new religious education classes. Quinn points out that, in addition to such internal conflicts, local leaders often "contended that the religion classes were superfluous and resulted in too many meetings for the officers and teachers," and General Authorities lamented a decided "lack of interest" in the religious education program on the part of local leaders. For example, in 1903 President Angus Cannon and the high council of the Salt Lake Stake (in which the Salt Lake School District was located) informed the LDS General Board of Religion Classes that bishops were free to adopt religion classes if they wished but that the stake would not support such classes directly.[11]

Perhaps, as Quinn suggests, such resistance stemmed from the competition between other church auxiliaries for church support and the added cost of such programs, but it is also likely that Salt Lake City Mormons did not want to endanger the *entente cordiale* which had developed in Mormon-gentile relations. Between 1901 and 1956, the Salt Lake City School District had five superintendents: D. H. Christensen (1901–16), Ernest Smith (1916–20), George Child (1920–32), L. John Nuttall (1932–40), and M. Lynn Bennion (1945–69). With the exception of Smith, they were all Mormons. Regardless of religious affiliation, they had more than enough to do in organizing and maintaining a modern school system, contending with financial difficulties, and maintaining the quality of the curriculum without taking on the church-school imbroglios of the 1890s.

Another dampening factor was the presence in Salt Lake City of an LDS high school. James Clark has estimated that at the turn of the century

is the final grade of junior high (e.g., Granite School District), the regular released-time program is offered in seminary buildings constructed near junior high schools.

[10]"The Board's Meager Justice," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 November 1908.

[11]Quinn, "Utah's Educational Innovation," 383–94.

11 percent of Utah's secondary school population attended non-Mormon denominational schools; 41 percent attended public schools, and 48 percent attended private Mormon secondary schools. If Salt Lake City students followed a similar distribution, the Salt Lake High School may have faced stiff competition. In 1902–03, it enrolled 848 while its LDS counterpart had 1,231. Five years later, the numbers were more even: 1,225 students in the Salt Lake High School and 1,384 in LDS High School.[12]

Masons on the School Board

In 1931, "LD High" closed and South High opened as the city's third high school. Pressure to accommodate the larger number of Mormon students in the public schools increased,[13] and the chief arena of the struggle was control of the school board. Here the Mormon majority came up against a powerful and politically skilled Mason minority who interpreted released time as an infringement of the strict separation of church and state they desired.

Some observers have hesitated to make the issue so specifically a Mormon-Mason conflict, identifying it instead as a more general contest between Mormons and "others." However, it is evident from a perusal of the membership of the Board of Education from 1890 through the 1940s that Masons indeed held enough votes to make them a power on the board. Even when they were not an outright majority they could, if they persuaded other non-Mormons to vote with them, dominate the Mormon minority. Mason "Bo" Thomas, past master of Utah Research Lodge, acknowledged in a conversation with me that the city's Masons as a group made a deliberate attempt "for many years to have one person on the board representing the Masons.[14] M. Lynn Bennion called their opposition "formidable."[15] As one

[12]James R. Clark, "Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah," (Ed.D. diss., Utah State University, 1958), 280; *Thirteenth Annual Report... Year Ending June 30, 1903*, 81; *Nineteenth Annual Report... Year Ending June 30, 1909*, 84.

[13]In *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education* (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Printing Center, 1988), 29, William E. Berrett claims that an attempt to have released-time seminary established in Salt Lake City was made in 1929, but the non-Mormon majority on the board rejected the proposal. Such a proposal may have been discussed in the General Church Board of Education meetings or made informally to the Salt Lake Board, but the minutes of the Salt Lake Board of Education, 1920–32, reveal no discussions of released-time seminary.

[14]Conversation with Horace "Bo" Thomas, 10 July 1991.

[15]Al Church, "The Controversy of Mormons and Masons, Reflected in the Salt Lake City School System as recalled by M. Lynn Bennion, Lawrence Schroeder, Sally Mason, R. Y. Gray, Paul B. Cannon, [and] Newell Dayton," March 1973, 1; research paper in my files.

example of their influence, George Sullivan and Archibald McMullen, two Masonic members of the school board, relentlessly and vigorously criticized Mormon superintendent of schools D. H. Christensen. In 1915, they cast the only two dissenting votes for his eighth appointment. In 1916, Christensen resigned suddenly. After non-Mormon Ernest Smith had been named his successor, Christensen bluntly told the school board that these critics had by their actions and words precipitated his departure and that it "would be best for the school system if Mr. Sullivan and Mr. McMullen withdrew before the expiration of their terms." To his daughter, he confided that the Masons on the board continually gave him trouble.[16]

During the decade of the 1890s, the Masons, who had fewer than six hundred members in all of Utah, held over 30 percent of the popularly elected Salt Lake City Board of Education. This number fluctuated somewhat over the years. In 1938, for example, there were 4,560 Masons in the state and 2,197 in Salt Lake City. Four years later, there were 4,362 in the state and 2,087 in the city. During these decades, Masons consistently held five or six of the ten seats while another was usually held by someone neither Mormon nor Mason. Mormons, in contrast, seldom had more than four, despite their significant share of the city's population– slightly less than 40 percent in 1920, a little over 40 percent in 1930, perhaps 50 percent in 1940, and over 60 percent in the 1960s.[17]

[16]Kathleen Christensen Hall, Oral History, 10 April 1992; "Grave Charges Made Against Christensen," *Salt Lake Tribune* 2 December 1914; "School Board Holds Charges Lack Basis," *Salt Lake Tribune* 11 December 1914. For details of Christensen's last explosive meeting with the board, see "School Board has Dramatic Session," *Salt Lake Tribune* 14 June 1914; " [Superintendent] Calls on Board Members to Resign," *Deseret News* 14 June 1916. In contrast, the school board minutes blandly record that "Mr. Christensen requested to be heard, and stated his reasons for resigning." Board of Education, Minutes, 13 June 1916; original minutes in the Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City. I used the microfilm copy on file in the Salt Lake City School District Offices, 440 East 100 South, Salt Lake City.

[17]Exact numbers of LDS in Salt Lake City are hard to determine from census returns, but Dr. Joseph Lyon of the University of Utah Medical Center has made calculations for Salt Lake County based on LDS Church records. My approximations assume that the ratio of Mormons to non-Mormons in the city would probably be lower than in the county. Statewide the non-Mormon population seems to have peaked at around 44 percent in 1920 and thereafter declined to a low of less than 30 percent in 1970. Conversation with Joseph Lyon, 23 June 1992. Dean May supplied me with a copy of the tables comparing populations for "LDS-NON LDS,1920–1970" prepared by Dr. Lyon. See also Lee L. Bean, Geraldine P. Mineau, and Douglas L. Anderton, *Fertility Change on the American Frontier: Adaptation and Innovation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 50–51.

Viewed differently, in the fifty-five years between 1890 and 1945, 112 persons were elected or appointed to the board. Forty-eight (approximately 42 percent) were Latter-day Saints, forty-four (40 percent) were Masons, and twenty (around 18 percent), were neither Masons nor Mormons. The sixty-three non-Mormons combined constituted 58 percent of the board members—a socially and economically powerful group.[18]

Of the twenty-two presidents of the board between 1890 and 1965, seven were Masons, fifteen were Mormons, and eleven were neither. During many of these years, the Mormons and non-Mormons "took turns" with the presidency, perhaps a reflection of a longstanding "gentlemen's agreement" that had been struck internally. The Masons, for example, controlled the clerk-treasurer's office from 1900 to the 1960s, while a Mormon held the superintendency for all but Ernest Smith's five years.[19] Bennion claimed that, even in the 1960s, his clerk-treasurer, a Mason, exerted a powerful influence on what educational policies were implemented in the classroom by controlling the flow of funds. Thus, as a matter of practical politics, a system of checks and balances prevented absolute domination by either groups for almost three quarters of a century, even though the Masons exercised influence out of all proportion to their numerical strength in the city.[20]

A significant question is why Masons were such visible activists for the non-Mormon community in this political contest. There is no evidence that Salt Lake City's Masons tried to control the schools to promote "secret" Masonic designs. Rather, it appears that the Masons and their constituents saw themselves as protectors of Americanism—including a free school system and the separation of church and state. They resisted the proposed released-time program, perhaps out of automatic antagonism to their long-

[18]Information on the Masonic affiliation of board members is courtesy of Richard Learner, Grand Secretary, and Robert D. Braman, past Grand Secretary, Free and Accepted Masons of Utah, Salt Lake City. For tables of Masonic population in Utah, see Gustin O. Gooding, *First 100 Years of Free Masonry in Utah, Vol. 1: 1872–1972* (N.p.: Grand Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons, 1983), 91–94. See also Church, "The Controversy of Mormons and Masons" and Michael W. Homer, "Masonry and Mormonism in Utah, 1847–1984," *Journal of Mormon History* 18 (Fall 1992): 57–96.

[19]M. Lynn Bennion, *Recollections of a Schoolman: The Autobiography of M. Lynn Bennion* (Salt Lake City: privately printed, 1987), 132–33.

[20]See, for example, the oral histories of Dean K. Christensen, 27 March 1990; Kathleen Christensen Hall, 10 April 1990; Amy L. Engar, 30 April 1992; and M. Lynn Bennion, 3 June 1991; and Church, "The Controversy of Mormons and Masons."

time foes, but more likely because they saw the policy change as the entry point for Mormonism into the city schools. Because of their close fraternal ties, they probably represented the most organized and cohesive group of non-Mormons in the area and could, by acting in concert, checkmate Mormon political power.

Unquestionably, they feared Mormon bloc voting. Newell B. Dayton, a Mason and former board member, commented with a certain amount of rhetorical hyperbole: "The Mormons are organized. The night before election, they can roll 'em in by the thousands. . . . A lot of the people are like sheep and will do whatever the bishop says. . . . He can dominate the whole membership."[21]

It is almost certainly an oversimplification to characterize all Salt Lake City Masons as sharing the same educational philosophy; however, they seem to have shared the broader American view, articulated by Horace Mann in 1848 that schools were "the great equalizer of the conditions of men—the balance-wheel of the social machinery."[22] It is probably reasonable to suggest that they saw, in public schooling, a way to counter the anti-American tendencies commonly ascribed to Mormons. Indeed, Horace Mann as early as 1842 had identified Mormonism as among the "combinations of ignorance and false teaching" afflicting the United States which he hoped enlightened public schools would counteract.[23]

Similar struggles occurred throughout the United States between Catholics and Protestant boosters of nondenominational public schools in the nineteenth century,[24] but Masons traditionally identified themselves with a strong national involvement in public education. From the earliest attempts by the Masonic governor of New York, DeWitt Clinton, to organize the Free School Society in New York in the 1820s to the controversy generated in California in the 1950s over attempts to tax private religious schools (ultimately defeated by a coalition of Catholics, Seventh-day Adventists and Mormons), Masons have worked "to keep education under local community control." Tellingly, the Supreme Council of the Scottish Rite for the Southern

[21]Church, "The Controversy of Mormons and Masons," 15.

[22]Horace Mann, *Twelfth Annual Report of the Board of Education* (1849; facsimile ed., Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1952), 59.

[23]Horace Mann, *An Oration Delivered Before the Authorities of the City of Boston, 4 July 1842* (1842; reprint ed., Yellow Springs, Ohio, n. pub., 1930), 57.

[24]Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1983), 167–71.

Jurisdiction (which included the Utah lodges) "fathered" a 1920 referendum in Oregon making attendance at public school mandatory, "thus ending or greatly restricting parochial primary and grammar school education."[25] The referendum passed but was challenged by a Catholic teaching order *(Pierce vs. Society of Sisters)* and eventually was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. The "Supreme Council" submitted an *amicus curiae* brief supporting the restrictive legislation; but in 1924, the court declared the Oregon legislation unconstitutional on the grounds that it would have "deprived private and religious schools of their property without due process of law."[26]

In the 1940s, the "Supreme Council" regionally opposed public funding to transport parochial school children and opposed federal aid for any school (public or private). It also took pride in influencing the withdrawal of Harold Rugg's popular social studies texts from many school districts as subversive. In 1943, the governing body of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry nationally opposed "plans to permit released time from the public schools for the teaching of religion." In short, Masons nationally wanted strict local control of public schools, Americanization of immigrants, and scrupulous church/state separation.[27] The Sovereign Grand Commander of Scottish Rite Masonry, John H. Cowles, expressed the idea succinctly in 1943: "I have tried . . . to keep politics out of Masonry. But I am strong for taking Masons into politics, and that each member will be influenced to take an active interest in all of the affairs. . . . that affect the national picture."[28]

Naturally, Utah's Masons opposed what they saw as Mormon deviations from these national standards. Having led out in the nineteenth-century fight for free public schools nationally as well as in Utah, they remained resolved during the twentieth century to continuing "protecting" the schools from Mormon influence. Not coincidentally, Clarence Emir Allen, the Congregational legislator who forced the Mormon-dominated Utah leg-

[25]Henry Wilson Coil, *Coil's Masonic Encyclopedia* (New York: Macoy Publishing and Masonic Supply Company, 1961), 489–90; *Transactions of the Supreme Council, Scottish Rite Southern Jurisdiction*, Sessions of 1924–25 (Charleston, S.C.: Grand Orient of Charleston, n.d.), 20–22, 64–67.

[26]*Transactions of the Supreme Council,* 22; Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience 1876–1980* New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 552.

[27]*Transactions of the Supreme Council,* 1943, 36–39, 217–219; Cremin, *American Education,* 603.

[28]*Transactions of the Supreme Council,* 39.

islature to adopt free public schools in 1890, was a Mason.[29] As Oregon's Masons sponsored a referendum against Catholic schools, so Utah's Masons blocked released-time Mormon educational programs in the schools of the state's largest city.

SETTING THE STAGE, THE 1930S

The opening salvo in a stepped-up struggle for control was fired in January 1930, when the state Inspector of High Schools, Isaac L. Williamson (a non-Mormon from Kansas who had served as superintendent of Tintic School District in the early 1920s) issued a report criticizing the close relationship between the fifty-two LDS seminaries and Utah's public secondary schools. Beginning in 1916, Utah's State Board of Education had adopted a policy allowing individual districts to grant graduation credit for seminary Bible courses. During the 1920s, virtually every district in the state except Salt Lake City accepted this policy. Nevertheless, Williamson argued that the relationship between Utah's LDS seminaries and its public schools was so close that "the public" thought of them "as one institution."

While affirming the importance of religious education and disavowing any hostility toward "any particular religious institution," Williamson asserted that the seminary material would "unquestionably . . . be a violation of the law" if taught in school," and charged that some seminary classes were held in schools, that seminaries increased the cost of schooling, and that it academically disadvantaged students who took it.[30]

The LDS Commissioner of Education, Dr. Joseph F. Merrill, immediately countered that seminaries actually saved the state money by financing some classes counted toward graduation, expressed the Church Board of Education's surprise at the criticism, and complained that Williamson "was straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel." However, Merrill offered to "correct" any conditions noted in the report that could be substantiated.[31]

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[29]Edgar M. Ledyard, "Clarence Emir Allen: 'Father of the Free Public School System in Utah,'" *Utah Educational Review* 26 (December 1932): 106–7, 135–36.

[30]"Seminaries of L.D.S. Put Under Study," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 9 January 1930; the *Tribune* published the report in full while the *Deseret News* covered it in forty lines. Williamson's additional reports on Utah high schools appeared in the official "Report on High Schools" in *Eighteenth Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Utah for Biennial Period Ending June 30, 1930*; however, his criticism of the seminaries did not. For information on Williams, see 1920 U.S. Census for Eureka, Juab County, LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City. According to the *Salt Lake City Directory* for 1932, Williamson returned to Kansas in 1931.

[31]In contrast, to its skimpy coverage of Williamson's report, the *Deseret News* devoted one

Former superintendent of Salt Lake City schools, D. H. Christensen, a Mormon, followed up with a letter to the *Deseret News* defending seminaries against the charge that they were responsible for the lower academic achievement of Utah's rural high school students. If that were true, Christensen pointed out, the real cause was that Salt Lake students attended school for 480 weeks, compared to the 420 required in rural areas.[32]

The state board referred Williamson's report to a three-man subcommittee, which in March recommended a complete "disassociation" between seminaries and schools, including withdrawing credit for seminary attendance in high school, at the University of Utah, and at Utah State Agricultural College, and cancelling released-time programs. Judge Joshua Greenwood, a Mormon from Utah County, refused to sign the report, so it came out over the signatures of George A. Eaton, assistant superintendent of Salt Lake City, and attorney Clarence A. Robertson of Moab, both Masons.[33]

President Heber J. Grant promptly drew a line in the seminary sand. At the annual meeting of the Church's educators on 7 April 1930, Grant stated, "It is up to us, who hold a vote to see that this liberty (seminaries) is granted." Milton H. Willing, the Democratic Secretary of State and a Mormon, told his coreligionists that if seminaries are lost "it will be the fault of the people of the Church." Milton Bennion, dean of the University of Utah's School of Education and simultaneously a member of the LDS Sunday School General Board, defended religious education in principle.[34]

The board then invited Joseph F. Merrill to respond to both reports. On 3 May 1930, he presented a twenty-four-page position paper analyzing the charges and rebutting each. He presented evidence that seminary graduates averaged better grades and did better in college than nonseminary students and asserted that the Church was saving the state thousands of dollars by underwriting one-sixth of students' graduation credits if they took seminary. Merrill also cited national authorities on religious education to support the LDS contention that graduation credit and released-time was

and a quarter columns to Merrill's rebuttal: "Inspector Hits LDS Seminaries," and "Head of System Answers Attacks Upon Seminaries," *Deseret News*, 9 January 1930.

[32]Christensen, Letter to the editor, "Seminary Students Not Deficient in Scholarship," *Deseret News*, 21 January 1930.

[33]"Probe Committee Splits on LDS Seminaries," *Deseret News*, 24 March 1930; "Group Splits on Seminary Work Probe," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 25 March 1930.

[34]"Church Leaders Protest Battle on Seminaries," *Deseret News*, 7 April 1930. Parentheses in original.

just as legal as "chaplains . . . in the army and navy." Furthermore, twenty-six states allowed credit (in 1927) for religious education; only fifteen had no form of religious instruction. Nor was Utah unique in allowing the practice of released time.[35]

Merrill also claimed that the Church had relinquished control over secondary schools because of the 1916 provision for released time and graduation credit; otherwise, "no academies would have been abandoned, and many public schools would be either non-existent or sorry things." The close working relationship between seminary and high schools which was being criticized was precisely what had "brought the LDS people unitedly and enthusiastically to the support of the public schools, and the support has brought an era of peace and goodwill to Utah that was never known before." Such cooperation could not continue under "a narrow interpretation of law that would infringe their liberties or handicap a proper functioning of the seminaries." The implied threat was clear. Merrill indignantly terms the reports "religious prejudice . . . in legal sheep's clothing." The Church clearly had no intention of backing away from a confrontation over credit and released time.[36]

In fact, the state board actually considered the possibility of a "friendly lawsuit" as a means of resolving the constitutionality of the seminary program, while Merrill predicted that the controversy would reach the U.S. Supreme Court.[37]

Then in September 1930, a *Deseret News* editorial laid out what may be read as the Church's rationale for continuing seminaries, released time, and credit: Although the Supreme Court had said that the United States was a Christian nation, the press and the schools had been "equally indifferent." American civilization would "disintegrate" without the corrective of religious education conducted in conjunction with public schooling. Nowhere had this idea "been developed perhaps more earnestly" than Utah, where 306 seminaries served over 12,000 junior high students and 82 served over

[35]*A Reply to Inspector Williamson's Report to the State Board of Education on the Existing Relationship Between Religious Seminaries and Public High Schools in the State of Utah and Comments Thereon by a Special Committee of the Board,* issued as a letter to the Utah State Board of Education under Merrill's signature on 3 May 1930, 3–8, 10–17; photocopy in my possession.

[36]Ibid., 21–23.

[37]"Status of Church Seminaries Seek Court Decision," *Deseret News,* 28 June 1930; "LDS Church to Wage Seminary Fight to Finish," *Salt Lake Telegram,* 3 July 1930.

14,000 high school students with Salt Lake City schools as the sole district refusing to allow released time and graduation credit. Perhaps responding to Williamson's criticism of the denominational curriculum, the editorial asserted that teaching focused "on conduct and application rather than on theory and doctrine." Whether this description fit typical seminary teaching may be questioned, seminary supervisor Lynn Bennion (1936–45) strenuously downplayed doctrinal aspects, and Merrill's May response to the board reported that the LDS Department of Education had urged that seminary Bible study be nonsectarian, promised that the new Old and New Testament curriculum "will certainly be free from sectarianism," and had even given samples to the State Board of Education.[38]

In short, from Williamson's report in January until the election in December, the sparring had created a heated atmosphere, which should have resulted in a Mormon challenge at the polls. On the contrary, the Masonic domination of the board remained unchanged in the December 1930 election; five Masons, three Mormons, and two others.

A leisurely nine months later, on 23 September 1931, the State Board of Education held its first meeting in many months and voted six (Mormons) to three (others) to retain the credit policy. The three were Masons C. A. Robertson, George A. Eaton, and Kate Williams, a prominent social worker and the daughter of attorney Parley L. Williams, one of the first Masons elected to the Salt Lake Board of Education in 1890. The board then unanimously adopted more stringent guidelines in maintaining greater separation of "physical plant, administration, faculty, records and publications" and asked local boards to allot no more than three hours per week to seminary.

In short, despite partisan voting, the board accepted in large measure many of Williamson's criticisms. The chairman of the board and state superintendent of public instruction, Dr. C. N. Jensen, correctly pointed out that the vote to retain credit had by no means settled the issue and that it would "continue to arise until the legal and constitutional issues involved are settled by judicial decision."[39] Almost half a century later in the late

[38]Editorial, "Weekday Religious Instruction," *Deseret News*, 12 September 1930; Merrill, *A Reply to Inspector Williamson's Report*, 21.

[39]"State Retains Credit Rating for Seminaries," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 24 September 1931. The Mormons serving on the State Board of Education were Dr. C. N Jensen; Dr. George Thomas, president of the University of Utah; Dr. E. G. Peterson, president of Utah State Agricultural College; John C. Swenson, Provo; Judge Joshua Greenwood, Salt Lake City; and Dr. R. M. Macfarlane, Cedar City.

1970s, the balance was struck: credit was banned, but released time was allowed.

But that balance followed a major political shift to reflect voter realities and commitments in Salt Lake City. It could not have escaped the attention of General Authorities living there that their children lacked a privilege available to every other Mormon student in the state; 10 percent of the LDS students in Salt Lake's school district took seminary compared with 70 percent elsewhere.[40] Three months before the school board's show-down vote, the Church had closed its high school in Salt Lake City, announcing greatly increased seminary offerings to make up for the loss. The announcement was pointedly phrased: classes would be held before and after school "since the Salt Lake City schools *do not follow the precedent of the other schools in the state and nation* in giving release time during school hours for this type of study."[41]

Dr. L. John Nuttall, Jr., another Mormon, became superintendent of the city schools in August of 1932, close to the nadir of the Great Depression for the nation and Utah. Obviously, the seminary issue was a luxury, considering these adverse conditions for education; however, he was very supportive of character education and, given his Mormon roots, would no doubt have encouraged religion as a basis for moral education. In undated personal notes, he wrote that students should ideally spend an hour each day pursuing religious training provided by their respective churches or, more practically, that public schools should use the Bible as an instructional text:

> I see no logical reason why we shall not some day teach "Bible Literature" as part of the "English Curriculum," as well as a course in Bible stories; likewise teach Old Testament History and New Testament History in the "History" curriculum . . . I know of nothing better adapted for the development of worthy

[40]Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 502–3. These figures are for the 1920s.

[41]"Church Extends Programs at Three Seminaries in Salt Lake to Make Up For LDS College Closing," *Deseret News*, 28 August 1931; italics mine. In the next few years, numerous Church leaders pressed the importance of religious education in instilling faith in the young. "Faith Building Declared Aim of Seminary," Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 8 October 1934, 4, Historical Department Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; J. Wyley Sessions, "Getting the Heart of the Student," Journal History 7 October 1934, 8; T. Edgar Lyon, "Carry-Over Value of Seminary and Institute," Journal History 4 December 1937, 6; M. Lynn Bennion, "The L.D.S. Seminary Program," *Deseret News Church Section*, 1 February 1936.

> home life and citizenship than Bible study when led by a teacher who genuinely loves the Bible and believes the same.[42]

Two months after Nuttall's appointment, at the Utah Education Association meeting in October 1932, Oscar VanCott, the non-Mormon principal of Bryant Junior High School in Salt Lake City, called seminary "an evil more subtle, farther reaching, more dangerous and more unwise than the cigarette evil," repeated charges of unconstitutionality, and claimed that to release children into the care of "uncertificated and unqualified teachers" was also a violation of the state's laws. Teachers are quite capable of teaching values without the intrusion of the LDS Church seminary system, VanCott asserted. Paul E. Reimann, a former LDS seminary teacher and practicing Salt Lake attorney, rebutted three weeks later: the state's released-time seminaries were completely within the law, and released time for seminary attendance was no more against school attendance laws than sending children to private schools.[43]

This exchange may have been influential in the school board election the following month. The Mormons gained one seat when Christian O. Jensen, a former bishop, ousted Joseph Anderson in the traditionally Mason second precinct. Anderson may not have been a Mason, but he had been appointed to fill out the term of a Mason who had died in that precinct. Thus, the board consisted of five Masons, four Mormons, and one Congregationalist.[44]

The private or collective opinions of LDS Church officials cannot be ascertained without access to their private papers or to minutes of their deliberations, currently closed to researchers, but presumably they favored a released-time program. It seems unlikely that the LDS Commissioner of Education, Dr. Franklin West, would have otherwise asked the Mormon law firm of Bagley, Judd, and Ray in March of 1936 to determine whether the Board of Education could be "forced to grant released time" to junior and senior high school students in Salt Lake City. Robert L. Judd informed West that because the board had immense legal authority to make whatever school

[42]In George B. Robinson, "The Educational Contributions of Leonard John Nuttall, Jr." (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1951), 80–81.

[43]"Teacher Flays Seminaries at UEA Session," *Deseret News*, 29 October 1932; "Educator Criticizes System of Church Seminaries in Utah," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 30 October, 1932; Paul R. Reimann, Attorney, "The Constitutionality of LDS Seminary," *Deseret News*, 19 November 1932.

[44]"Three New Men Named on Board," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 8 December 1932.

policies it wished, it was unlikely that it could be forced to act. Furthermore, a voluntary grant could result in a suit from "our opponents."[45]

Then in 1938, J. Reuben Clark, Jr., the member of the First Presidency with responsibility for church education, delivered a "simple and blunt" address to the forty-second convention of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers when it met in Salt Lake City in May 1938. This address, which presumably reflected the thinking of Church leaders, asserted that parents, education's bill-payers, had not only lost control over what their children were taught in public school but were no longer consulted about curriculum. Teachers should have freedom but, Clark insisted, "I am not willing to extend that full and complete freedom into a gross license and then pay him to abuse that license to distort and debase the minds and hearts and bodies of those who belong to me and who are dearer than life itself." While praising the ban on "dogma and creed" in public schools as "one of the wisest principles of the American government," Clark also urged a parallel ban on "innocently or maliciously" teaching "antireligion dogma."[46] Clark did not mention released-time seminary, but his speech would have clearly encouraged its proponents.

Only three months later, Clark delivered a watershed statement on the aims of LDS Church education, which he claimed bore the approval of the First Presidency. In August 1938, he warned leaders and teachers in the Church Education System gathered at Aspen Camp in Provo Canyon that "teaching a system of ethics to the students is not a sufficient reason for running our seminaries and institutes." The Church's religious educators should have a "personal testimony" that Mormon doctrines were true or resign. He referred ominously to a "pruning" of the less zealous faculty, attacked the practice of sending Mormon educators elsewhere to receive "the ne-plus ultra of up-to-dateness" in education, ordered the faculty "not to teach the philosophies of the world," and averred that, if necessary, the Church would "return to Church colleges and academies."[47] Although this threat clearly countered his well-known fiscal conservatism, his speech

[45]Robert L. Judd to Franklin L. West, 11 March 1936, M. Lynn Bennion Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

[46]"Schools Need Control, P.T.A. Meet Hears," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 19 May 1938.

[47]"First Presidency Sets Standards for Church Educators, *Deseret News Church Section*, 13 August 1938; reprinted as *The Charted Course of the Church in Education* (pamphlet) (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, [1975?]).

placed him squarely in opposition to Lynn Bennion and Joseph Merrill's accomodationist emphasis on character training.

Since his appointment in 1936, Bennion had been working toward a Deweyian approach that stressed reflective thinking as the principal aim of education. Consequently, Bennion and seminary instructors such as Sterling McMurrin read Clark's declaration as an attack on the "liberals" within the church education system. McMurrin retrospectively pointed out that Clark was not opposed to thinking per se; he "just wanted people to think right things."[48] Bennion, also retrospectively, admits:

> I read into what he had to say . . . implications at least . . . that were very alarming. He emphasized that this was the restored gospel; that it was revealed; and we knew exactly what it was . . . [Church teachers were] not to equivocate; not to raise doubts, but to solve doubts. It was a powerful talk from a legalistic or doctrinal point of view. It was assumed by [President Clark] that the truth is known, is well established and should be clearly laid down by [LDS educators]. That is what they were hired for, to make good Latter Day Saints . . . good from his point of view was to be a conforming Latter Day Saint. Conforming to the rules and regulations and doctrines of the church.[49]

While Clark in his Aspen address alluded only indirectly to the released-time issue, Mormon parents would not have missed the implications of proper seminary teaching in acculturating Mormon youth. It was a powerful implied endorsement of released time.

Clark's Aspen speech was in August 1938. Before the school board election in December, one of the six Masons on the school board, D. E. Hammond, presumably in answer to a reporter's question, stated that the board had "never discussed released time," but the issue was clearly "in the air." The *Tribune* warned against a "drift" in sentiment about "the advisability of teaching religion during school hours." The *Telegram* defined the election issues as public access to board meetings (by policy school board meetings had been secret to that point), "religious study during school hours," and freedom of teachers to criticize school affairs. It favored the

[48]Telephone conversation with Sterling McMurrin, 27 November 1992.

[49]M. Lynn Bennion, Oral History, 24 May 1973; photocopy in my possession. When Bennion expressed his alarm to Commissioner Franklin West, West insisted that the comments reflected a difference over methods or strategies, not means or content. However, Bennion's apprehension about Clark's criticism of his work was well-founded; In 1945, feeling increasing pressure from the hierarchy, especially Clark, he successfully applied to become superintendent of the Salt Lake City school district with the blessing of David O. McKay. Ibid., and telephone conversation with M. Lynn Bennion, 27 October 1992.

first and third, but was silent on released time, and chided the apathetic voters: only 10 percent (around 5,600 voters) participated.[50]

Apathetic or no, it was a watershed election. The Mormons achieved parity with the Masons. Mormon attorney, bishop, and past mission president LeGrand P. Backman defeated Masonic incumbent Harvey Gustin in the first precinct; and Nephi Morris, insurance executive and former president of Salt Lake Stake, won by a landslide over his opponent in the third precinct. It was the first time Masons and Mormons had faced each other in equal numbers since 1920.

Nationally, there was support for increased activism. The character development movement, begun in 1920, had intensified steadily. By 1940, 455 schools systems throughout the United States were offering classes or released time for religious education programs.[51] The outbreak of World War II in Europe and the likelihood that the United States would be drawn into the conflict brought new attention to the topic; and the 1940 White House Conference on Children in Democracy included a session on Religion in the Lives of Children which reported that an estimated half of American children and youth "receive no religious instruction outside the home."[52] It urged schools to meet these needs.

In October conference that year, Elder John A. Widtsoe of the Quorum of the Twelve identified the nation's public schools as a major means of combatting the "evil now raging in Europe" by focusing on "moral and religious education." He pointedly appealed for public schools to have "eager cooperation with every project such as our LDS Seminaries and Institutes to supply religious instruction outside the school" and challenged: "There must be no whining and hiding behind a misinterpretation of the constitutional provision for religious liberty. We still say on our coins, 'In God We Trust.' "[53]

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[50]"School Board Policy Change to be Sought," *Salt Lake Telegram*, 8 December 1938; "School Board Election Nonsectarian, Non Political," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 7 December 1938. "School Board Election," *Salt Lake Telegram*, 9 December 1938. It is unclear how decisive the issue of public access was; both newly elected members, Mormon LeGrand Backman and Mason Fisher Harris, the city attorney, supported this policy change.

[51]Mary Dabney Davis, *Weekday Classes in Religious Education Conducted on Released Time for Public-School Pupils* (Washington, D.C.: United States Office of Education, 1941), 23.

[52]Ibid., 1.

[53]*Proceedings of the One Hundred and Eleventh Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, October 1940* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, [1941?]), 63.

A more overt strategy, apparently designed to benefit Mormons, occurred during the 1939 legislative session, State Senator Stanley N. Child, a Democrat of Mormon parentage, chair of the Social Relations and Relief Committee and a member of the Education Committee, introduced bills enlarging the number of civil wards in Salt Lake City to six and adding two seats to the school board. The bill passed easily and was signed by Governor Henry H. Blood in March. Democrats dominated forty-five to fifteen in the house and twenty-one to two in the Senate. It is safe to assume that the legislature was at least 70 percent Mormon. Presumably they saw the bills as promoting more equitable representation and, indirectly, enhancing Mormon voices on the board, although no documentation of the latter motivation has been found.[54]

The level of Mormon population in the city was rising as war industry drew Mormons from Utah's rural communities and stood at about 50 percent in 1940.[55] At the first election under the new membership, in December 1940, Mormons held their own, maintaining technical parity with the Masons but actually achieving a substantial gain. Four new board members were chosen: one Mason and three Mormons. The Mason was H. J. Plumhoff, Congregationalist, former general superintendent of the Union Pacific Railroad, and member of Mount Moriah Lodge since 1908.

The Mormons were Albert G. Zenger, chief bookkeeper for Walker Bank and former member of the Twenty-fifth Ward bishopric; George L. Crowther, editor and publisher of the *Salt Lake Times* and later bishop of the Mt. Olympus Ward; and Genevieve R. Curtis, a Relief Society president in Parley's Ward, the first woman to penetrate this circle of Mormon, Mason, and male interests. Mother of eight and wife of prominent coal merchant A. R. Curtis of Sugarhouse, she was a former teacher, founding president of the Irving Junior High School PTA, and president of the Salt Lake City PTA Council. Her son Lindsay R. Curtis believed that, as part of the over-all Mormon political strategy, she was "invited" to run for one of the newly created positions. She beat her male opponent, Leo Rusk, two-to-one.

[54]*Senate Journal Twenty Third Session of the Legislature of the State of Utah. 1939.* (Salt Lake City, 1939), 542–43; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Utah Twenty Third Session of the Legislature. 1939* (Salt Lake City, 1939), 630; "Blood Okeys 12 Items in Busy Day," *Salt Lake Tribune,* 14 March 1939; conversation with Dr Stanley N. Child, 5 November 1992; conversation with Dean May, 9 November 1992.

[55]Conversation with Joseph Lyon, 23 June 1992; Lyon tables comparing populations, "LDS-NON LDS, 1920–1970"; and Bean, Mineau, and Anderton, *Fertility Change,* 50–51.

Mormon John B. Matheson, city commissioner and president of the newly created Riverside Stake, was reelected as were two Masons: dentist D. D. Stockman, a Congregationalist and past grand master of the Grand Lodge of Utah; and Frederick C. Loofbourow, past president of the Salt Lake Unitarian Society, former jurist, and Republican representative from Utah (1930–33). Not up for reelection that term were two Mormons (Nephi Morris and LeGrand P. Backman) and three Masons: D. E. Hammond, executive of the Salt Lake Council of the Boy Scouts of America; Fisher Harris, the city attorney, and Seymour L. Billings, trust company executive.[56]

Mormons clearly saw it as a victory. Frank West mistakenly told the LDS Board of Education in January 1941 that the Salt Lake Board of Education was "now composed of eight LDS members and five non-LDS members."[57] In point of fact, the seats were still divided six and six. It is difficult to imagine that this election occurred without discussion between General Authorities and Mormons in the educational community, although no evidence of such collaboration has been found.[58]

Some sense of the anticipation with which Mormons faced the next election in 1943 comes from a comment attributed to Mormon school board president Nephi Morris who reportedly told his non-Mormon colleagues, "We have the advantage and we'll use it." Lawrence Schroeder, Lynn Bennion's non-Mormon assistant superintendent, saw the released-time issue as an example of the LDS Church seeking to control the board.[59] While there is no evidence of official encouragement for Mormons to vote a particular way, Stanley Cannon recalled hearing his father, George J.

[56]"Nineteen Aspire to S.L.School Board Posts," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1 December 1940; "Voters Elect Seven to Membership on Salt Lake City School Board," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 5 December 1940; Lindsay R. Curtis, *Mother's Footsteps* (Salt Lake City: privately printed, 1962), 68; "'57 Mother of Year Succumbs," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 July 1968.

[57]Church Board of Education, abstracts of minutes, 8 January 1941, Adam S. Bennion Papers, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Church Board, by date.)

[58]Amy L. Engar reported that her grandfather, Apostle Richard R. Lyman, believed that the board of education should be balanced between Mormons and non-Mormons to give "a fair shake for everybody" and that, in fact, the Church did not want to dominate the school board for fear of being blamed if things went wrong. Engar, Oral History, 30 April 1992. Perhaps Quorum of the Twelve meeting minutes and minutes of the Church Board of Education, currently unavailable to researchers, will someday substantiate this interesting view, which seems to counter J. Reuben Clark's.

[59] Church, "The Controversy of Mormons and Masons," 9, 5.

Cannon of the Ensign Stake presidency, discuss the issue of Mormon representation on the school board around 1938 with his family "and the need for Church members to vote for LDS candidates so as to balance out the Masonic influence on the board." Similarly, Oscar W. McConkie recalled that the bishop of Twentieth Ward in 1942 encouraged ward members to vote in the school elections (the polls were in their meetinghouse) because the "time had come in Salt Lake City when we didn't want to the Salt Lake Board of Education controlled by Masons."[60]

Control of the Board of Education, 1940–43

Although no details are available about LDS leadership discussions on the issue of released time and the school board, clearly a Mormon majority on the school board would serve the Church Board of Education's interests. Franklin West, as Church Commissioner, may have been actively involved earlier than 1941 in encouraging Mormon candidates and higher levels of Mormon voting. A systematic problem solver, trained in physics at the University of Chicago as a graduate assistant to Nobel Laureate Robert A. Milliken, he understood human nature, according to his daughter, "avoided ruffling the feathers" of those in political and ecclesiastical power, and "quietly helped build logical arguments" and consensus positions for granting released time in Salt Lake City, which he saw as a "monumental undertaking."[61] It appears that West helped plan the strategies followed in making released-time a reality.

When the 1941–42 school year opened, Nephi Morris, the president of the board and also president of Salt Lake Stake, informed the board's legal advisors that the parents of high school students would soon submit a petition about released time. He wanted a ruling on whether the board could "legally grant release[d] time during school hours for the purpose of taking classes in religious education." Writing for the firm of Cheney, Jensen, Marr, and Wilkins, A. M. Cheney responded with an eleven-page summary of legal precedents and problems involving released time in other areas of the United State. He cited at some length the 1927 case of *Lewis v. Graves*,

[60]Conversations with H. Stanley Cannon, 8 November 1992, and Oscar W. McConkie, 9 November 1992.

[61]Marian West Wilkinson, interview, 25 June 1992. This brief interview gave me a useful sense of Franklin West's involvement in the released-time debate. A transcript of a taped interview dealing with the life of Franklin L. West by Roy West at the LDS Historical Department deals with the issue of released time, but I was not permitted to examine this document.

which upheld the reasonableness of a released-time program established by a New York board of education. If it could be shown to not "materially interfere with the standing and progress of the pupil in his regular school work, and if no credit for religious training is sought or granted," the Utah courts would probably uphold the practice as the New York courts had. However, because of Utah's rather pointed constitutional prohibition against church-state entanglements, Cheney concluded, "We do not feel that there exists a proper basis for the expression of an opinion of even substantial certainty." If the board refused to grant the petition, it would be within its legal rights. On the other hand, if they granted released time "probably the courts would be called upon to decide it."[62]

This opinion was not entirely encouraging; still, on 10 February 1942, a petition bearing some thirty-five hundred signatures was presented to the board asking for a released-time program and graduation credit for Bible classes. Such a program, the petition said, would promote "good citizenship" and combat "the excessive amount of juvenile delinquency and crime which prevails in our community." Safeguarding civilization requires the "acquiring of deep religious convictions through careful guidance in the field of religion." The petitioners urged the board to act "immediately" on the matter. Although the clerk, R. Y. Gray, called a special meeting to discuss the petition on 24 February, no record of any discussion appears in the 1942 minutes.[63]

In September 1942, a letter from J. Percy Goddard, president of the Salt Lake City Seminary Board, president of Liberty Stake and prominent businessman, was presented to the General Church Board of Education raising the question, "again," about the "need for securing 'released time' privileges for Salt Lake City students in order that they might study religious subjects in our three city seminaries during school hours" instead of during early morning hours.[64] David O. McKay, second counselor in the First Presidency, agreed to confer with the board president Nephi L. Morris. While no record of their conversation is available, it is reasonable to assume that

[62]A. M. Cheney, Letter to the Board of Education of Salt Lake City, 18 December 1941, School District Files.

[63]R. Y. Gray, Clerk, Letter to Members of the Board of Education, 19 February 1942, Salt Lake City Board of Education, Minutes, 10–24 February 1942, microfilm, Administration Building, Salt Lake City School District (hereafter cited as Board of Education, Minutes, by date). No trace of the signed petition could be found but a copy of the wording dated 20 February 1942 is in the files.

[64]Church Board, 9 September 1942.

they discussed the December 1942 election and how more Latter-day Saints could be added to the board.

A few days before the election, the *Tribune* editorialized that voting in this election was crucial because of the role schools must play in "post-war reconstruction." It hoped that "sectarian exclusiveness" would vanish and appealed to voters to select board members who were "selfless and who put national needs above advantage for self, party or denomination."[65]

But in that election, the balance tipped by a crucial seat. Dr. Rowland Merrill, a prominent ophthalmologist and son of Joseph F. Merrill unseated Fisher Harris, a Mason, in the fourth precinct. For the first time in forty years, the Mormons held a majority of seats. When the board convened in January of 1943 it consisted of seven Mormons, four Masons, and Hubert Cochrane, an employee of the City Water Department and a member of the Loyal Order of the Moose, who had displaced a Mason from another traditionally Masonic precinct. Jed F. Woolley, Jr., a Mason and an officer of the Utah Light and Traction Company, had retained his seat. The Masons averaged six years of service on the board, and the Mormons 4.5.[66]

The seven Mormons were prominent in business and ecclesiastical circles, the kind of people whose presence constituted an automatic stamp of approval among hierarchically conscious Latter-day Saints, but the victory was lessened by the death in April of Nephi Morris. The board appointed Wilford A. Beesley, a CPA with the First National Bank and for many years president of the Salt Lake Stake, to succeed him on the board but balanced this Mormon-acceptable appointment with the Mason-acceptable appointment of Stockman as president.

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[65]"Boards of Education Take on New Importance," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1 December 1942. Historically, *Tribune* warnings against "sectarian exclusiveness" and "denominational" advantage had been code words for "Mormon domination." This occasion was probably no exception, but the rhetoric was muted compared, for example, to 1906 when the anti-Mormon American Party failed to gain control of the Salt Lake board. The *Tribune* headline trumpeted: "MORMON CHURCH CONTROLS SCHOOLS" (6–7 December 1906). It then attributed the Mormon victory to gentile apathy, stuffing the ballot boxes, and intense Mormon efforts to "get out the vote." The new board consisted, the *Tribune* reported, of one Mormon bishop, one bishop's counselor, four Mormon elders, one jack Mormon, one Catholic, and two members of the American Party.

[66]All of the Mormons, with the exception of Merrill, had at least two years of service on the board, a total of twenty-seven years of service. Matheson had served continuously since 1933. The three Masons elected prior to 1943 totaled twenty years of service among them; Stockman had been first elected in 1931. In summary, 42 percent had been elected in the 1930s; 33 percent had won their seats in the previous election, and 25 percent were entirely new.

The first public mention of action on the released-time issue came on 8 June 1943, when a formidable delegation of prominent LDS citizens attended the board meeting. It was headed by attorney Lynn S. Richards, son of Apostle Stephen L Richards. His main law partners were Henry D. Moyle, who in 1947 was appointed to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and David Lawrence McKay, son of David O. McKay, then second counselor in the LDS First Presidency. Other members of the group were D. Crawford Houston, Director of Communications for the Kennecott Copper Company; Lester F. Hewlett, businessman; attorney Perris S. Jensen and his wife, Gwen Williams Jensen; Justice Martin M. Larson of the Utah Supreme Court, and E. J. Steinfeldt, a lieutenant (and later chief) in the Salt Lake police force.[67] Richards petitioned the board to release students for seminary during what would otherwise be a study period, representing many parents who felt a need for "character education, plus religious and spiritual values [as] part of our City school's educational system." If released time were allowed, Richards affirmed, it would not disrupt the school schedule nor conflict with either the state or federal constitutions.[68]

School board members who opposed the petition, all of them non-Mormon, questioned the difficulty of administering the arrangement, feared that eventually credit would be requested, expressed doubts about the measure's constitutionality, and expressed concern about the lack of prior notice and, hence, public discussion of the issue. Richards asked that the board act immediately and assured them that credit would not be requested. After the delegation left, Backman moved to summarily adopt a released-time policy. Zenger read a prepared statement implying that Sunday School and parental instruction were inadequate to train children for "successful Christian living" and concluded:

[67]Five of the petitioners were members of the Edgehill Ward of the Sugarhouse Stake. Ironically, the board of education was leasing Edgehill's meetinghouse, along with two others, for $200 a month from the LDS Church to alleviate overcrowded schools. School Board, Minutes, 10 August 1943.

[68]School Board, Minutes, 8 June 1943. Jensen told me that he circulated the petition in his ward, probably in his adult Sunday School class. Telephone interview with Perris S. Jensen, 30 December 1991. In his reminiscences, William E. Berrett, later director of seminaries, claims that the school board first granted a 1942 petition but revoked it in 1943 when the non-Mormons gained a majority and passed a policy requiring students to have eighteen units to graduate. See *A Miracle of Weekday Religious Education*, 29. My research does not corroborate Berrett's conclusions; however, the school board did increase the graduation requirements during the mid-1940s, presumably after the 1943 election; this development would have seriously hampered released-time seminary attendance.

> The [public school] teacher's task is not merely that of supplementing inadequate home teaching. . . . There is a need of systematic teaching of religious truth, which only a school with a definite course of study can give. Because the task is so important and the need so great, it is imperative that every child be given the opportunity to receive this training.[69]

Plumhof, Cochrane, and Woolley, requested that the motion be held over "until a later meeting so that other citizens could be heard from." The issue was scheduled for reconsideration two weeks later on 22 June.

Under the leadership of Robert D. Steele, President of Westminster College, the Protestant ministers in the Salt Lake Ministerial Association promptly submitted a formal resolution to the school board asking it to postpone action until all sides on the issue had been heard. While they agreed that religious principles were a necessary part of the total education of young people, the association argued that the schedule was already too full with the wartime "emergency training program;" religious minorities would be put at a disadvantage; "released-time" was not demonstrably the best method of conducting week-day religious instruction; increased "consciousness of religious differences" in school would lead to "unfortunate distinctions based on religion;" and finally, the whole issue would be counterproductive to the unity needed in the community during wartime.[70]

Richards, given rebuttal space in the *Salt Lake Tribune* the morning of the meeting, contended that church-based programs were not reaching all the youth and that war required religious training "to build morale and to prepare for the coming peace." Released-time religious education would simply be another elective approved by parents, every church could set up a similar programs, and the LDS Church was willing to cooperate with them. He cited a number of instances in which released-time programs were praised as an expression of parental responsibility.

In the ninety-five high-school released-time programs serving LDS stu-

[69]Although the author of the written statement is not identified, I attribute it to Zenger on the basis of comments recorded in the minutes. Board of Education, Minutes, 8 June 1943; also "Seminary Hour Asked," *Deseret News*, 9 June 1943; "Religion Class Action Deferred," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 9 June 1943.

[70]"Sponsor Defends Religious Classes in High School," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 June 1943; in an editorial the *Tribune* mirrored much of the criticism of released time expressed by the Ministerial Association just as the *Deseret News* mirrored LeGrand Backman's perspective. See "Salt Lake City Faces an Educational Crisis," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 June 1943; also "School Class in Religion Stirs Protest," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 20 June 1943. I searched for but could not find the minutes of the Salt Lake Ministerial Association.

dents throughout the western states, there had been no problem with religious differences being emphasized. Finally, the LDS system had been in existence since 1912 and there was no evidence that it had created disunity or political controversy. Richards asserted that allowing parents to request that their children be instructed in "a subject which their parents believe important and vital" was clearly constitutional and in no way subjected "the public school system to sectarian control" as claimed by the opponents.[71]

Four days before the meeting, the First Unitarian Society submitted a resolution to the school board warning that the released-time policy was contrary to the best interests of a democratic society and would "arouse bitter controversy." In an accompanying letter, T. David Hettig, president of the Unitarian Society's board of trustees, claimed that an overwhelming majority of Unitarians and "a substantial portion of liberal thinking people" opposed the proposal.[72]

Backman, in a statement to the *Deseret News* published the day before the meeting, expressed concern about the "misunderstanding and misapprehension" caused by the issue, affirmed his strong support for the measure, and asserted that the policy change would not interfere with the school curriculum or with any student's religious beliefs, that the classes would not be held in school buildings, and that regular school teachers would not be employed to teach in the system. Citing the 488 school districts in 38 states with similar programs, Backman offered his own patriotic counterclaim: this national movement "was proving to be great aid in the return-to-religion movement which is held out by all of the great leaders as the world's salvation."[73] Also the day before the meeting, the *Salt Lake Telegram* labeled the proposed policy change as "A Dangerous Proposal" in an editorial, repeating the rather well-worn themes that the proposal ran counter to the Utah state constitution, would disrupt the educational program, would be too difficult to administer, would lead eventually to the granting of credit for religious studies, and would inject "the religious question into our public schools," causing a similar disruptive focus in school and other elections.[74]

[71]"Sponsor Defends Religious Classes in High Schools," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 June 1943.

[72]"School Class in Religion Stirs Protest," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 20 June 1943.

[73]"Board Member Explains 'Release Time': Backman Argues for Religious Training Regardless of Denomination," *Deseret News*, 21 June 1943.

[74]"A Dangerous Proposal," *Salt Lake Telegram*, 21 June 1943.

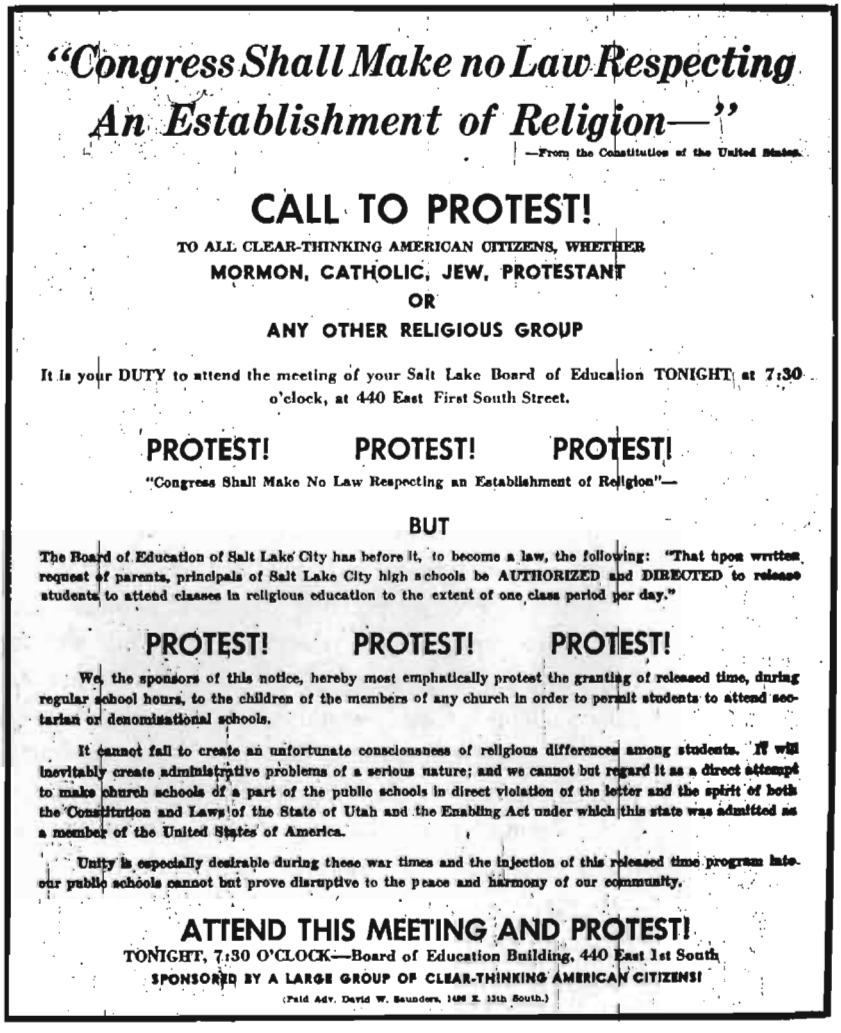
The *Tribune* editorialized lengthily on this "educational crisis" on the day of the meeting, praised character education on the one hand, but denounced "any effort to inject denominational religious training into the public school system" because "of stirring bitter controversy, arousing animosities and creating suspicions" on the other. Its reasons for opposing the proposal included loss of academic time, confusion in scheduling, problems in "classifying youngsters on a denominational basis and the consequent undermining of democratic principles which public schools are obligated to uphold," and the violation of the "spirit" of the separation of church and state. Urging the board of education to have "an open mind" on the issue, the *Tribune* warned patriotically: "During time of war any move which might stir up contention and interfere with the unity of the community, should be avoided. The problem calls for caution and careful consideration. We feel it would be a grave mistake to precipitate this controversy upon the community at this time."[75]

That morning, the *Salt Lake Tribune* also ran an advertisement, which was duplicated in the *Salt Lake Telegram.* Addressed to "All Clear Thinking American Citizens whether Mormon, Catholic, Jew or Protestant or any Other Religious Group," this advertisement was a "Call to Protest" the proposed policy change as a "violation of the letter and the spirit" of the U.S. Constitution, the State Constitution, and Utah's Enabling Act. The attempt to establish released-time seminary was, in fact, "a direct attempt to make church schools a part of the public schools." If adopted, the policy would create religious dissension, cause serious administrative problems, and disrupt "the peace and harmony of our community."[76]

Ironically, David W. Saunders, whose name appeared on the advertisement as its sponsor, had arrived in Salt Lake City from Indiana the previous year, knew nothing about the Mormons (not even what "LDS" stood for), and had been misinformed by friends that released time meant students could use a class in religious instruction for credit against a subject that they were weak in. They insisted he be identified as sponsor because he was essentially anonymous in the community and wouldn't have to worry

[75]"Salt Lake Faces an Educational Crisis," *Salt Lake Tribune,* 22 June 1943.

[76]This advertisement, entitled a "Call to Protest," appeared in the *Salt Lake Tribune* and the *Salt Lake Telegram,* 22 June 1943. I am indebted to Kay Lynn Fitzgerald, "Separation of Church and State and the Salt Lake City Release Time Program," research paper for Educational Studies 601, University of Utah, 1990; for identifying many of the newspaper references used in this article; photocopy of typescript in my possession.



"Congress Shall Make no Law Respecting An Establishment of Religion—"

—From the Constitution of the United States.

CALL TO PROTEST!

TO ALL CLEAR-THINKING AMERICAN CITIZENS, WHETHER

MORMON, CATHOLIC, JEW, PROTESTANT

OR

ANY OTHER RELIGIOUS GROUP

It is your DUTY to attend the meeting of your Salt Lake Board of Education TONIGHT at 7:30 o'clock, at 440 East First South Street.

PROTEST! PROTEST! PROTEST!

"Congress Shall Make No Law Respecting an Establishment of Religion"—

BUT

The Board of Education of Salt Lake City has before it, to become a law, the following: "That upon written request of parents, principals of Salt Lake City high schools be AUTHORIZED and DIRECTED to release students to attend classes in religious education to the extent of one class period per day."

PROTEST! PROTEST! PROTEST!

We, the sponsors of this notice, hereby most emphatically protest the granting of released time, during regular school hours, to the children of the members of any church in order to permit students to attend sectarian or denominational schools.

It cannot fail to create an unfortunate consciousness of religious differences among students. It will inevitably create administrative problems of a serious nature; and we cannot but regard it as a direct attempt to make church schools of a part of the public schools in direct violation of the letter and the spirit of both the Constitution and Laws of the State of Utah and the Enabling Act under which this state was admitted as a member of the United States of America.

Unity is especially desirable during these war times and the injection of this released time program into our public schools cannot but prove disruptive to the peace and harmony of our community.

ATTEND THIS MEETING AND PROTEST!

TONIGHT, 7:30 O'CLOCK—Board of Education Building, 440 East 1st South

SPONSORED BY A LARGE GROUP OF CLEAR-THINKING AMERICAN CITIZENS!

(Paid Adv. David W. Saunders, 1486 E. 13th South.)

about repercussions. He later recalled that those who paid for the advertisement seemed to be "Jack Mormons" – "half Mormon and half nothing" – and that he didn't even come to the board meeting on 22 June.[77]

Responding to the advertisement, the *Deseret News* riposted with an editorial only a few hours before the board meeting. Presumably expressing the official Church position, the *News* editorialized about the need for religious education in time of conflict, observing dryly that "religious education is about the only practical way" in which religion could contribute to the peace movement. It then denied that the proposal violated the Constitution, made church schools part of its public schools, or disrupted wartime harmony. Why, if everyone, including the Ministerial Association, agreed on the need for more religious education, was the Salt Lake Ministerial Association so opposed to the proposal? Like Backman, the editorial concluded that it must be because of "misunderstanding and misapprehension" on the part of the opponents.[78]

On 22 June, five hundred people jammed the board room. Stockman adjourned the meeting to the auditorium of Bryant Junior High School. There, the board, Lynn Richards, and the aroused citizenry vigorously debated the issue. The Rev. A. W. Lyons of Immanuel Baptist Church voiced the Ministerial Association's opposition, pointing out correctly that the issue had jumped beyond education to politics, which did not "augur well for the city." Some had claimed that the young people wanted released time, but Lyons scoffed that students "probably would vote for the religion classes in order to sluff the religion class for a trip to the movies or to the nearest soda fountain." The pastor of the Unitarian Church, Rev. J. Raymond Cope, argued for the introduction of a "mandatory course in principles of democracy" instead of released-time religious instruction. Cope stirringly predicted that, if the proposal were adopted, "there will not be a school board election for years to come when there will not be disunity.... This is war.... I shall fight until there is nothing more to fight about on this issue."[79] Loud applause greeted his peroration.

A "tow headed and quiet voiced student," Sam Stone, said he represented many students who did want religious education. They didn't have time for it and some would simply use it to get another hour of sleep. His

[77]David W. Saunders, Oral History interview, 22 May 1992.

[78]"Objections Based on Misapprehensions," *Deseret News*, 22 June 1943.

[79]"S.L. School Board Votes Religion Classes by 7 to 5," *Salt Lake Telegram*, 23 June 1943.

comments were greeted with calls of "Hear that" and "Go ahead, boy" while another "ex-high school girl" said it was "much ado about nothing" because the "kids" would not tolerate anything but early morning seminary. Despite their admittedly non-scientific polling, if these young people were LDS, their opinions were decidedly candid, coming from students in a church which values obedience to authority.[80]

Prior to the meeting, a large group of business leaders had submitted a petition protesting the proposal because it would reduce the time available for classroom instruction. Because they operated on the "already too short 11–year system" (adopted in 1928 to save money), the schools were having difficulty teaching necessary courses. At the board meeting, Morris Rosenblatt, a Jewish businessman addressing the minority issue, warned the board that its actions might "destroy you, me and all the others" if the schools were turned into religious "battlefields for competitive recruiting for candidates."[81]

If the newspaper reports are accurate, most of those who spoke at the meeting were vehemently opposed to the idea and were greeted with applause and cheering. When a Mrs. E. P. Evans supported the proposal because it would give "the spiritual protection each of us needs in these catastrophic times," her remarks were "all but drowned in the flood of boos," hisses, and jeers.[82]

Stockman feared that the proposal was not in the best interests of the education of children. A second Mason on the board, Plumhof, cast doubt on the validity of the original petition which, he (probably correctly) claimed had been circulated only in LDS wards. He proposed that a petition should be circulated city-wide for a correct reading of the community's sentiments. Eighty-year-old Oscar VanCott, the veteran Utah educator who had reputedly produced the first draft of Utah's 1890 first free-school law

[80]"School Board Okeys Religious Classes; Court Fight Looms," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 23 June 1943.

[81]"Sponsor Defends Religious Classes at High School," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 June 1943; "School Board Okeys Religious Classes: Court Fight Looms," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 23 June 1943. The twelve-year program was phased out between 1945 and 1950 although evidence indicated that students did as well in college with eleven years of public schooling as with twelve. Lynn Bennion suggested to me that a major motivation for returning to the twelve-year program was that athletic teams were disadvantaged in competing with other districts because Salt Lake's seniors were only in the eleventh grade. M. Lynn Bennion, Oral History, 3 June 1991; copy in my possession.

[82]"School Board OKeys Religious Classes," 23 June 1943.

in pencil and who had vehemently criticized the seminary system in the 1930s, brought the meeting to a climax by proposing that the people at the meeting hold a standing vote directly on the motion. This was not allowed, but "a spontaneous standing vote showed [that] the audience was almost unanimously against the adoption of the motion."[83]

Despite the public excitement and rhetorical posturing, the meeting was somewhat anticlimactic. All the major positions had been stated in print, and it was obvious that the Mormons on the board would vote as a bloc. All that was really left was a vote on the issue. After VanCott's grandstand gesture, Backman moved that the board adopt the released-time proposal as petitioned by the parents' delegation. Stockman ruled the motion out of order because it required a change in the procedural rules of the board. By a 6–4 vote, the board overturned Stockman's ruling and, after much procedural wrangling, the motion carried, seven to five, by a show of hands. Predictably, the seven were Mormons, and the five were four Masons and a Moose.[84]

The audience responded with a "hum of protest"; and according to the *Tribune*, "a minister" asked what action could now be taken. Stockman responded, "I think the courts might be the answer," whereupon someone in the audience shouted, "We'll go there."[85] Although Stockman was stating no more than the exact legal option available, it could also have been read as an invitation; it seems likely that at least some dissenting groups would have discussed that option. For example, the Unitarian pastor, J. Raymond Cope, commented to a *Deseret News* reporter two days later that efforts were underway to "unify all the independent groups in opposition" to the practice.[86] Stockman told the *News* that some of his friends wanted to pursue

[83]"S.L. School Board Votes Religion Classes by 7 to 5," *Salt Lake Telegram* 23 June 1943.

[84]Board of Education, Minutes, 22 June 1943. These minutes are extremely terse and neutral, hence my reliance on the much more detailed newspaper accounts. Indeed, the second page of the minutes of 22 June (p. 18) is missing from the microfilm copy. An attempt to locate the original bound minutes in the Utah State Archives led to the interesting discovery that *all* of the 1943 original Board of Education Minutes are missing. Stockman asserted that this action was an amendment to board rules; hence, the correct procedure was to submit the motion in writing at one meeting of the board, refer it to a committee for study, and act on it at the following meeting.

[85]"School Board Okeys Religious Classes; Court Fight Looms," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 23 June 1943.

[86]"Back Release Time," *Deseret News*, 24 June 1943.

legal action but added that "such a move would not be initiated by the minority group of the board casting the negative vote."[87]

In fact, reaction seems to have died down remarkably quickly. Interviewed for the *Deseret News* two days later, the Episcopal Bishop of Utah, Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton, praised the board's decision as an aid to the teaching of religious education in general and said that "some of our people have been too quick on the trigger in criticizing this proposal." He was willing to allow time for the experiment to be tried and hoped to make use of facilities (presumably LDS) for Episcopalian religious education. The Superintendent of Catholic Schools in Salt Lake City, the Rev. Dr. Robert J. Dwyer, said that while not the same as a church-sponsored parochial school system, released time had been useful where it has been tried and that it would remain to be seen how the Salt Lake plan worked out.[88]

Parents also seemed to hold no grudges. Nothing would have been more natural for the issue to have become a political rallying cry in the 1944 board election where seven members were up for reelection; but in a remarkably "light vote," four incumbents were returned and three new members were elected. Wilford Beesley, a Mormon, and George Keysor, a Mason, were even returned unopposed. When the board organized in January 1945, the composition was nine Mormons, two Masons, and one who was neither—the first time the Mormons had achieved such a decided majority. Indeed, it inversely reflected the composition of the board after the first election in 1890 when 75 percent of the board members were non-Mormons. No editorials exhorted citizens about the dangers of "sectarianism." Even the *Tribune* had limited its preelection rhetoric to a simple reminder that voting in board elections was one way of ensuring "the quality of intelligence and citizenship of tomorrow's men and women." The divisiveness of 1943 was left behind and the Mormons had to assume responsibility for the direction schools would take.[89]

It seems unusual for any group to give up without a struggle a political superiority that it had held for five decades; but the trend was steadily downward. After the election of 1938, Masons never held more than 50

[87]"Schools Grant Released Time," *Deseret News*, 23 June 1943; "Back Release Time," *Deseret News*, 24 June 1943.

[88]Ibid.

[89]"4 Incumbents Retain Posts in School Elections," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 7 December 1944; "School Board Election Scheduled," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 5 December 1944.

percent of the seats; during the 1950s, membership fluctuated from three to one; and as far as I have been able to determine, the last Mason to serve on the board was Warren R. Tyler in 1960. The reasons for the decline would require in-depth study, but the cause cannot be ascribed simply to shrinking numbers of Masons. In 1963, Masons reached their "all-time peak of 6,968"; after that point, "Masonic membership, both in Utah and in other states, began to decline, part of a nationwide slippage in affiliation experienced by most fraternal organizations."[90] But this downward trend came a full twenty years after the crucial elections of the mid-1940s.

Part of the answer may lie in a more aggressive and enduring Mormon political presence. At times fully half of the board members were concurrently serving in LDS stake presidencies or bishoprics. In 1971, ten of the twelve were LDS.

A third reason may be a general lessening of tensions within the Salt Lake community. Despite the focus of this article on adversarial passages, the Mormon-Mason tensions did not generate continual ill-feeling and overt hostility between 1890 and 1943. Obviously both groups cooperated on the great expansion and professionalization that occurred in the city's schools during the decades of the contest. Nor did these antagonists lack a sense of humor about their relationship. T. Quintin Cannon, who served on the board during the 1950s, recalled that Glenn V. Culp, the sole Mason on the board during the early 1950s, would occasionally come to board meetings straight from the Masonic Temple a few blocks away, still attired in masonic regalia. Mormons on the board teasingly suggested that he should "bring aprons" for the other members. At another board meeting, an LDS bishop protested the closing of a school in his ward near "Swede Town" in the northwest section of the city. In his presentation, he referred to board members by their ecclesiastical titles: President Fetzer, President Burbidge, etc. Finally, Culp could restrain himself no longer and spoke up: "What the hell is going on here? Is this a priesthood meeting?" Defusing the situation neatly, Cannon, himself a bishop, proposed that the board there and then sustain Glenn V. Culp as the "President of the Salt Lake Masonic Stake." The motion was seconded, carried and, according to Cannon, recorded in the official minutes of the board. Next day, Cannon was

[90]Michael W. Homer, "Masonry and Mormonism in Utah, 1847–1984," *Journal of Mormon History* 18, no. 2 (Fall 1992): 90.

greeted with good-humored comments from approving Masonic business colleagues who enjoyed the appropriateness of the gesture.[91]

SUCCESS OF THE SEMINARY POLICY

Once the policy changed, the Church moved quickly to adapt early-morning seminary to released time. By August, Superintendent L. John Nuttall, Jr., had overseen the writing of guidelines for implementing the released-time policy. These guidelines spelled out parental responsibility for petitioning, specified that, unlike released-time arrangements in other Utah school districts, no school credit toward graduation would be given, mandated that released-time religious instruction must take place off-campus, and reminded students that they would "miss the regular high school work and special activities" during the period scheduled for their religious instruction. The guidelines also specified that "high school activities will [not] be specially scheduled because of this request or that special teaching will [not] be given because of this absence." No change in graduation requirements would be made to accommodate students who took seminary. If students missed required classes, they would "have to remain in school longer if they expect to graduate." Because first period was used as an advisory period and to communicate school information to students, released time was not available for that period. Principals were also cautioned that they had no right to "question" or hinder parents' requests for released time and that, while schools schedules would not be adjusted to meet released-time needs, they must avoid indiscriminate scheduling changes that would create problems for seminary students.[92]

Although the board originally scheduled the guidelines to go into effect during the fall of 1944, giving schools and parents a full year to adjust, the Church phased the program in even more gradually; and released-time seminary classes which could be easily interchanged with high school classes were not generally available in Salt Lake District until 1956. Unfortunately, minutes of the LDS Board of Education are not available for researchers, leaving exact sequences, events, and motivations somewhat vague as reconstructed from public sources.

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[91]Telephone interview with T. Quintin Cannon, 27 June 1992.

[92]*Plans for Administering Released Time for Religious Study in Salt Lake City Schools*, copy in School District Files. This plan was transmitted to the board on 10 August and by 1 September, a form for parents to sign had been produced and apparently approved by the board. Board of Education, Minutes, 10 August 1943.

The released-time policy did not appear in the district's printed policy manual until 1948. In 1951, according to a preschool announcement in the paper, "most sessions" of seminary were "scheduled for preschool hours"; and in 1956 Superintendent Lynn Bennion commented that "most students attending seminary do so before school hours."[93] Grant Hardy, who began teaching seminary in 1955–56, claimed he could not be placed in Salt Lake City because it had no released-time program. This is not technically correct, but it is probably true that the Church Education System had relatively few full-time seminary faculty. He received a released-time appointment the next year at West.[94] In 1956–57, released time was available for only two afternoon periods at South and West High and during three afternoon periods at East. Elder Marion D. Hanks, who taught seminary at West High between 1946 and 1953, recalled teaching three types of seminary classes while there: a 7:00 A.M. Book of Mormon class which he initiated in response to student requests, a 7:45–8:30 class (the customary "early morning" period), and the afternoon released-time classes.[95]

Amy Engar, a high school student during the 1940s, recalled that most of her LDS friends who took seminary preferred the early morning schedule so that it would not intrude on their academic schedule. Several interviewees who attended Salt Lake high schools around 1950 did not even know that released-time seminary was available to them.[96] As a practical matter, seminary had to compete with the real academic demands of eighteen units required for graduation,[97] extracurricular participation in sports and clubs, and week-night MIA (youth) meetings.[98] The lack of graduation credit almost certainly made seminary less appealing. James L. Kimball, Jr., who taught

[93]"Seminary Classes Underway with Opening of School," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 5 September 1951; "Officials Wait Formal Bid on LDS Study Proposals," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1 June 1956.

[94]Grant Hardy, Interview, 22 June 1992.

[95]Marion D. Hanks, Interview, 24 June 1992.

[96]Conclusions drawn from conversations with Juanita Barclay Wainwright, Leland Gentry, Grant Hardy, and James L. Kimball, Jr., 22 June 1992; with Merrill and Carole Rowley, 23 June 1992, and oral history of Amy L. Engar, 30 April 1992.

[97]In the calculation of high school credit, one "Carnegie Unit" is defined as direct instruction in a particular subject for fifty minutes per day for one school year (in Utah currently 180 days). Consequently, if students needed eighteen credit hours for graduation they would be required to take six hours of classes each day for three years.

[98]The policies describing changes in graduation requirements can be found in Secondary School Program of Studies (1944), 4, in School District Files; and in the *Sixty Sixth and Sixty Seventh Annual School Reports . . . for the School Years Ending 1955–56 and 56–57*, 13–14.

seminary at West High during the late 1950s, recalls spending much effort selling students, parents, and stake and ward leaders on the importance of seminary.[99]

Seminary seems to have reached about a fourth of LDS students during the late 1940s. Statistics on seminary attendance and graduation rates are difficult to come by, but raw graduation statistics can be used, with some caution, for approximations. If LDS students were represented in high schools at the same level as the general percentage of Mormons in the city, the percentage would have crept steadily upward from 50 percent after 1940 to over 60 percent in the 1960s.[100] In 1947, 836 students graduated from South High; presumably at least 418 were LDS. That year, 114, or 27 percent, graduated from LDS seminary. West High had less success; out of 550 graduates from the school, 275 would have been LDS, according to the 50 percent formula. Only 50, or 18 percent, graduated from seminary. The following year, East graduated 347 from high school. According to the 50 percent formula, 173 would have been LDS; 109, or 63 percent, completed the seminary requirements.[101] These figures cannot be taken as exact and, naturally, those graduating from the released-time program before the mid-1950s were obviously a fraction of those taking early morning classes.

My reason for believing that the fall of 1956 marked the period when released-time classes became generally available is a study commissioned by the Church Education System ca. 1958 which compared the enrollment, attendance, and class time actually spent in seminary instruction in the four Salt Lake City high schools. In 1955–56, 1,480 students were enrolled in seminary classes, with a 73 percent attendance rate. But these classes were only thirty minutes long, making them incompatible with the usual fifty-

[99]Kimball, 22 June 1992. Seminary personnel tried to make seminary "fun" and seminary graduation easier by organizing summer seminary for a time. "LDS Perfect Seminary Class Setup," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 20 May 1950. It is possible that the Church Board of Education moved with deliberate caution to avoid provoking legal action; but lack of access to its minutes makes it difficult to ascertain whether fear of legal action was, in fact, a concern.

[100]Lyon, 20 June 1992; Lyon tables; Bean, Mineau, and Anderton, *Fertility Change*, 50–51.

[101]Data on seminary graduations were gleaned from reports published in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, under the following titles and dates: "Graduation Set at Seminary," and "Seminary Diplomas," 23 May, 1947; "Seminary Graduation," 24 May 1947; "South Rites," May 26, 1947; "West High Sets Graduation Rites for 550," 4 June 1947; "South High Sets Graduation of 836 at Thursday Rites," 5 June 1947; "Education in Salt Lake," 20 May 1948; "East High to Graduate 347 Seniors June 2," 22 May 1948. Significantly, the *Tribune* listed seminary news in the column, "News of S. L. Schools," rather than on the religion page.

five-minute high-school period. In 1956–57 the seminary classes expanded to fifty-five minutes and there was an immediate falling off in enrollment but improved attendance rates of 83 percent. By 1957–58, enrollment was up and attendance rates were 90 percent, which compares favorably with the overall school attendance rate of 92 percent. Another way of looking at this data suggests that LDS seminaries in Salt Lake City enrolled 22 percent of the total high school population in 1956–57; 9 percent in 1956–57, and 13 percent in 1957–58.

The next three years, however, saw skyrocketing rates of increase. By 1960, East High's seminary rose from 230 to 602, West's from 187 to 669, and South's from 148 to 637. Partly because it was not yet a fully enrolled high school, the new Highland High's went from 131 to 717. These figures total 2,625 students—one-third of the city's entire high school enrollment. Unfortunately, there is little data readily available which would allow a comparison of released-time to early-morning enrollments, but data at Highland High Seminary indicates that twice as many took early morning as released time in 1956–57, decreasing to a third the next year.[102]

The High School Credit Issue, 1956

Perhaps concern about enrollment and the perceived unfairness of denying graduation credit for seminary allowed in every other Utah school district—and even in Mormon areas of Idaho, Arizona, and Wyoming—prompted tentative exploration of the issue of offering graduation credit for Bible seminary classes. In 1952, the "Salt Lake City LDS Board of Education" asked the Church Board of Education to consider negotiating credit for Bible study in the city's seminaries. Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith, chair of the executive committee of the Church Board of Education, appointed Apostle Henry D. Moyle to chair a committee whose task was to "ascertain in a preliminary, tentative way" how such credit could be secured. Lynn Bennion recalled no such overture from Moyle in 1952, but a retrospective report in a newspaper claimed that the city's board of education tabled a

[102]Church Board of Education, Comparative Study—Salt Lake City Seminaries, 1955–56 to 1957–58, Adam S. Bennion Papers, Brigham Young University; telephone interview with Steve Jones, Seminary Department, Church Education System, June 1992; *Sixty-Sixth and Sixty-Seventh Annual Reports of the Public Schools of Salt Lake City for the School Years 1955–56 and 1956–57* 45; *Sixty-Eighth and Sixty-Ninth Annual Reports . . . 1957–58 and 1958–59*, 26.

motion to give credit in the early 1950s because it was so divisive an issue.[103] Three years later, Ernest L. Wilkinson, president of Brigham Young University and chief administrator of the Church Education System, proposed investigating the possibility of university credit for selected classes taken at the LDS Salt Lake Institute of Religion. President David O. McKay, agreed to discuss the matter with A. Ray Olpin, president of the University of Utah. Concurrently, Adam S. Bennion was supposed to raise the seminary credit question with the Salt Lake Board of Education.[104]

The third overture apparently occurred in March 1956 when the executive committee of the General Church Board instructed Ernest L. Wilkinson to ask Lynn Bennion for his support of seminary credit for graduation.[105] Wilkinson and William E. Berrett, the LDS Commissioner of Education, met with Bennion in late March 1956; Wilkinson reported to the executive committee on 3 May that Bennion had agreed to support "realistic released time for Seminary classes, but was reluctant to ask the Salt Lake Board of Education for credit." The committee instructed Wilkinson to take up this possibility directly with the city board of education. Joseph Fielding Smith, Harold B. Lee, and Marion D. Romney, the executive committee of the Church Board of Education, had good reason to believe that the board would grant the request. That year, the board consisted of two Masons and ten Mormons: Percy Fetzer, president of the Temple View Stake; LeGrand Backman and Virgil Smith, former counselors in stake presidencies; Wallace Toronto of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association general board; Arza Hinkley, soon to be president of Emigration Stake; Waldo Andersen, former bishop; T. Quintin Cannon, a bishop; and Paul Royall, an employee of the Church-owned KSL Radio. Smith and Andersen were employed by

[103]"Officials Wait Formal Bid on LDS Study Proposals," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1 June 1956.

[104]Church Board, Minutes, 26 June 1952, 23 July 1955; conversation with M. Lynn Bennion, 29 June 1992. No record of a McKay-Olpin meeting appears in Olpin's daily journal between July and September 1956, University of Utah archives. Institute of Religion faculty were generally opposed to Wilkinson's desire for credit. Dale C. LeCheminant, a faculty member, recalled that institute director Lowell L. Bennion's resistance to the idea was one reason Wilkinson sought Bennion's removal from the directorship of the Salt Lake Institute of Religion in 1962. Conversation with Dale C. LeCheminant, 25 June 1992.

[105]The original request asked support "for released time" as well, a mystifying request since it had been a policy of the Salt Lake Board of Education since 1943. According to Lynn Bennion, some General Authorities, including J. Reuben Clark, Jr., did not distinguish between "released time" and "credit," although Wilkinson certainly knew the difference. Church Board, Minutes, 3 May 1956.

the Church-owned Beneficial Life Insurance Company. Wesley Sorensen and Judge Rulon W. Clark, were also active Mormons.[106]

The minutes show no formal request for credit, but evidently private conversations were held. On 31 May and 3 June, the *Salt Lake Tribune* interviewed board members on the Mormon "proposals." Sorensen went on the record in favor of "increasing the credit hours for graduation" coupled with "allowing credit for church conducted classes." Backman, president of the board, was quoted as saying he had not made up his mind on the issue, pointed out that allowing credit would "encourage attendance in church classes," and added that any church could sponsor such instruction. One of the Masons, Frank Yeaman, quickly took a negative position: "I'm against it. It's bringing church into school. . . . I'm not against seminary, that's fine, but not for credit." The other Mason, Warren Tyler, wanted to study the complete proposal "before passing judgement on situations before they arrive," a sentiment shared by the other members of the board.[107] Almost certainly the Mormon members of the board had mixed feelings. The *New York Times* printed an article two days before the June board meeting where the issue would be publicly discussed quoting "a number of" the LDS board members as wishing "it hadn't come up."[108]

As in 1943, the Salt Lake Ministerial Association promptly took an adversarial role. A week before the public discussion, D. D. Stockman, introduced by Yeaman and accompanied by Tyler, described the history of earlier struggles over the seminary question at a meeting of the association. The twenty-four ministers in attendance passed a unanimous resolution which, while acknowledging the value of religious education and the need for more time to study religion, opposed the proposal for three reasons: it violated the separation of church and state, the courses would not follow the usual approval route for high school courses, and the teachers were unaccredited. The *Tribune* published protest letters from citizens and from such organizations as the Religious Liberty Association of the Seventh-day Adventist Church but took no editorial stand. One letter-writer, Jane K. Hearn, pointedly wondered why the *Tribune's* "editorial front is silent," given that nothing less than "freedom of religion and separation of church

[106]Church Board, Minutes, 3 May 1956; conversation with T. Quintin Cannon, 27 June 1992.

[107]*Salt Lake Tribune*, 31 May and 3 June 1956. Bob Carrington, "LDS to Ask Concessions on Church Study Classes," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 31 May 1956.

[108]"Credit is Sought for Bible Studies," *New York Times*, 10 June 1956.

and state" were at stake.[109] In fact, neither the *Tribune* nor the *News* editorialized on the issue, a sign that leaders among both the Mormons and non-Mormon communities did not want a repeat of the 1943 conflict which divided the community.

Over two hundred and fifty people attended the Salt Lake City Board of Education meeting on 12 June 1956 and, as in 1943, the meeting adjourned to Bryant Junior High School. Backman began the meeting by announcing that the board would not make a decision that night but would hear opinions and "come to their own conclusions." It was, according to a newspaper account, a "stormy meeting." Wilkinson and Berrett formally requested that the board allow up to one unit of high school graduation credit for Bible study taught in "private schools." Responding to the criticisms of academic quality, they specified: "provided each subject has been pursued for the same length of time and with the same thoroughness required for the same credit in any other subject, and provided further that the teacher of such subject shall have full high school certification or its equivalent."[110]

Claiming that the request was in line with a 1916 State Board of Education resolution approving such credit, Berrett said that the granting of credit would make the students involved "better students" and "more Moral, God-fearing and Honorable." In addition, the course of study would be submitted to the board of education and the staff to "demonstrate [that] it is non-sectarian." Berrett concluded by saying that he could not understand why anyone would be opposed to such a program, which he said

[109]Jane K. Hearn, "Why the Silence," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 June 1956. It is possible, although no documentation exists one way or the other, that the *Tribune's* restraint stems from an "extra-political triumvirate" consisting of Gus B. Backman, president of the Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce and LeGrand's brother, David O. McKay, president of the LDS Church, and John F. Fitzpatrick, the Catholic editor of the *Salt Lake Tribune*. These three men held frequent, cordial, and informal meetings, which promoted "a high degree of amiable cooperation on the part of conservative religious, social and business groups in the city." Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Publishing, 1984), 263–65. These three may have decided that a protracted display of religious animosity over the seminary credit issue was not in the city's best interest.

[110]Board of Education, Minutes, 12 June 1956. Bob Carrington, "Opinions Run Full Range on Religion Class Credit," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 13 June 1956, reports attendance at over five hundred.

would be more important than teaching students horseback riding in school.[111]

Protest came from at least seven individuals, including representatives of the Religious Liberty Association, the Committee for Religious Freedom, the Salt Lake Ministerial Association, and the Nevada-Utah Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. Most of their arguments were familiar from 1943: They found the proposal an indirect support of religion and said it violated national and the Utah constitutions, infringed separation of church and state, and disadvantaged churches not able to afford such a program.[112]

Stanley L. Jefferson of Los Angeles, secretary of the Religious Liberty Association, called the proposal "a subtle encroachment" which would result in the taxpayer paying for the promoting of one religion's teachings. H. L. Marshall, a respected educator and former professor at the University of Utah, acknowledged that he had been reared "in the tradition and atmosphere" of Mormonism but warned: "To turn over 6–16 percent of the curriculum requirement for high school graduation to any religious sect, and to accept its teaching and interpretation of Bible stories and ancient Hebrew folklore with full and official public accreditation, seems both distasteful and dangerous."[113]

In Wilkinson's opinion the proposal being made to the board was consistent with the Supreme Court's 1952 decision from New York (*Zorach vs. Clawson*) which had declared in essence that "released-time programs of religious instruction conducted in *off-school facilities* are not an establishment of religion and are therefore constitutional."[114] Although the Supreme Court did not rule on the constitutionality of granting credit to such classes, Wilkinson implied that the practice was acceptable, since high school credits earned through religious training courses were accepted by such prestigious institutions as Harvard University. When Wilkinson claimed that giving credit for seminary would actually save the taxpayers money, segments of the audience jeered him.

Stockman, who had presided at the 1943 board meeting on released

[111]Ibid.; Board of Education, Minutes, 12 June 1956; "Schools Shelve Plan for S.L. Bible Credit," *Deseret News*, 12 December 1956.

[112]Board of Education, Minutes, June 12, 1956.

[113]"Bible Course Plan Tonight," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 12 June 1956.

[114]*Zorach vs. Clawson* in *Religion and Education in America: A Documentary History*, edited by Herbert M. Kliebard (Scranton: International Textbook Co., 1969), 187–97; italics in original.

time, reiterated his opposition to the entire practice of released time as an infringement of the "principle of separation of church and state." He noted the absence of a petition of 3,500 signatures and queried whether parents really wanted this measure in significant numbers. C. F. Phillips of the Seventh-day Adventist Church appealed to the human dimension by depicting the embarrassment of non-Mormon children "when most of the children go to one place and a few have no place to go."[115]

The board took no action that night but referred the issue to the Teacher and School Work Committee, one of the governing committees of the board, for study and recommendation. The members of this committee, Paul Royall and Judge Rulon W. Clark, were both Mormons; they sought an opinion from the board's legal counsel, whether the proposal "was free from legal attack and whether as a matter of administration, the Board of Education could give credit *merely on the certificate from the LDS Seminary system*." Wilkinson, Berrett, Royall, Clark, and Paul B. Cannon, the board's Mormon attorney from Marr, Wilkins, and Cannon, met a number of times. Ultimately Cannon gave the preliminary opinion that credit for seminary Bible study in seminary would withstand any challenge if it met stringent legal requirements. The wording he recommended for the resolution was:

> Be it resolved that: Credit for Bible History and Literature taught in private schools to the extent of one unit, will be accepted by the High Schools of Salt Lake City toward filling the requirements for graduation, provided such subject has been pursued for the same length of time and with the same thoroughness and upon the same scholarship evaluation as that required for the same credit in any other subject, and provided further that the teacher of such subject shall have full high school certification or its equivalent.

Cannon further added that while the courts might sometimes hold the King James Bible to be sectarian, the board's attorneys held the opinion

> that credit may be given for Bible History and Literature if all the requirements of the resolution are strictly carried out. . . . If any religious or sectarian doctrines or teachings are in fact injected into the class room study[,] the teaching will not be in accordance with the resolution and there will be a violation of the constitutional and statutory provisions. . . . So far as the question of released-time is concerned we think it matters not what is taught in the seminaries[;] but when credit is allowed the class becomes a class within the state high school system and must be as free from religious instruction and sectarian control as any class in literature, history or mathematics.[116]

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[115]Ibid.

[116]Paul B. Cannon, Letter to Judge Rulon W. Clark, 23 August 1956 in Board of Education,

This opinion could not have been welcome. Adherence to these provisions would have made Church-sponsored religious education precisely what J. Reuben Clark had denounced in 1938—directed not by Mormon values but ultimately by scholarly standards and secular values.

After appraising this opinion, Wilkinson investigated having the Northwest Accrediting Association evaluate the seminaries, possibly as private schools, or even under the direct administration of Brigham Young University, perhaps to give them academic credibility. While the Church Board of Education System was presumably studying the proposal, Wilkinson suffered a heart attack in October. William Berrett asked the Salt Lake City Board of Education to table the 12 June proposal because of the illness of Ernest Wilkinson, "the central figure in requesting credit for Bible courses." At the 11 December meeting, Royall moved and Clark seconded a proposal to that effect which the board unanimously approved.[117] Berrett's letter suggested that Wilkinson might raise the issue again later, but he never did. Nor did anyone else.

Lynn Bennion was not involved in the public debate; but he gave it as both his personal and professional opinion to the board that the courses could not be certified as nonsectarian. As supervisor of LDS Seminaries between 1936 and 1945, he was a knowledgeable observer of both the course content and the irresistibly LDS orientation of the teachers. A nonsectarian Bible course could "deal only with the literary and value patterns of the course" rather than theological and doctrinal emphases. The current curriculum was, in his view, designed to "indoctrinate" the students with LDS views and could not bear close scrutiny for certification in its present form.[118] This proposed shift in curriculum focus may have decided Wilkinson and other Church leaders against pursuing the matter further. After all, the purpose of seminary *was* to indoctrinate the young. Certainly the board must have felt relief at avoiding a replay of 1943's divisive scenario.

Thirty-two years later, Berrett described the 1956 outcome as a "com-

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Minutes, 11 December 1956; italics mine. Some might argue that such objectivity is not possible under any circumstances, but the idea that one could be relatively objective was a common position held by "liberals" in the 1950s.

[117]See Paul B. Cannon, Letter to Judge Rulon W. Clark, 23 August 1956; Rulon W. Clark and Paul F. Royall to LeGrand P. Backman and Members of Salt Lake Board of Education, 4 December 1956 in Board of Education, Minutes, 11 December 1956. The Berrett letter is included in the report of the ad hoc committee and appears in the minutes of 4 December 1956.

[118]Bennion, Oral History, April 10, 1974; conversation with M. Lynn Bennion, June 23, 1992.

promise" which he worked out with Lynn Bennion and which the Church Board of Education approved. In exchange for withdrawing the credit request, the board agreed to reduce the graduation requirements to fifteen units, making it easier for students to take released-time seminary. However, the documents do not support his memory. The reduction in units was in place *before* September,[119] Wilkinson's heart attack was in October, and the request to withdraw the proposal was made in November.

However, as events turned out, the decision not to pursue graduation credit was unconsciously prescient. In 1981, the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals in Denver upheld the 1978 ruling of a federal judge that it was unconstitutional to grant credit for seminary classes because it was an unwarranted intermingling of church and state, even though this decision reaffirmed the constitutionality of released-time religious instruction itself. The scene for this decision could have very easily been Salt Lake City, not Logan, had the Mormon majority on the 1956 school board voted Wilkinson's proposal into being.[120]

CONCLUSION

The LDS seminary case remains instructive as an example of local church/education/political interests in tension. It had clear winners and losers and a sharply defined issue.

Out of a tangled past of sectarian antagonisms and often personal hostilities from 1890 to 1920, the Salt Lake City Board of Education forged an uneasy accord with certain slots reserved for Mormons in a political organization frequently dominated by Masons. However, the underrepresentation of Mormons on the board during the 1930s ran counter to the democratic ideal; for many years, the board simply did *not* reflect the makeup of the society which supported the schools. That imbalance changed

[119]Berrett, *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education*, 30. The fifteen-unit requirement is mentioned in "H.S. Students Get Time Out for Seminary," *Deseret News Church News*, 1 September 1956; but the board minutes from November 1955 to August 1956 are missing.

[120]Ross Poore, "Church-School Entanglements in Utah: Lanner v. Wimmer" (Ed.D. diss., University of Utah, 1983); Elizabeth A. Shaw, "New Rewards for Released-Time: Lanner v. Wimmer Expands Constitutional Church-State Involvement," 1982 *Utah Law Review* 972–75. Sterling McMurrin recalled that Joseph Fielding Smith asked McMurrin why students were not allowed credit for studying the Bible in Salt Lake City seminaries. McMurrin told him it was because of a Church agreement that seminaries would not teach Mormon doctrine in those classes in exchange for credit. Smith responded "We ought to give up the credit." Telephone interview with Sterling M. McMurrin, 26 October 1992.

as Mormons won an increasing fraction of seats during the late 1930s, achieving parity in the December 1938 election and finally a majority in 1943. Support of the released-time proposal, which benefited Mormons, reflected that change.

The interlocking relationship between social and economic class and religious orientation of 1943 board members is a clear reminder, as George S. Counts pointed out in his classic 1929 study, that a school board functions primarily in the realm of political power. A liberal, progressive educator who urged schools to become direct agents of social change, Counts termed as a "pious fraud" the view that bankers, merchants, lawyers, etc., could represent disinterestedly the best educational interests of the community. On the contrary, "the content, spirit, and purpose of public education must reflect the bias, the limitations and the experience of the membership of this board."[121]

T. Quintin Cannon acknowledged that the tension between the Masons and the Mormons on the board was not primarily over religion but rather over power in the community – especially money power. He claimed that when the Masons were in power (from the 1920s to the 1940s), most of the school districts tax receipts would be deposited in gentile banks such as Tracy-Collins Trust, Walker Bank, and Continental Bank. Conversely, when Mormons were in control of the board, the money was deposited in Mormon banks like Zion's First National and Utah National Bank.[122] Certainly the Salt Lake board of education members represented the business, professional, managerial, and commercial interests which dominated public boards nationwide, while simultaneously lacking representatives of what Counts terms "the laboring classes."[123] However, in Utah, class and social considerations are often overridden by religion, so that many issues which might be interpreted as economic or political elsewhere are reduced in Utah to a matter of Mormon vs. non-Mormon, or as in the issue of released time, Mormon vs. Mason.[124]

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[121]George S. Counts, *The Social Composition of Boards of Education: A Study in the Social Control of Public Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), 96, 1.

[122]Cannon, 27 June 1992. Certainly this suggestion merits further study.

[123]Counts, *The Social Composition of Boards of Education*, 60.

[124]Counts claimed that clergymen "were practically without representation" on national public school boards in the twentieth century although, in the nineteenth century, they played a sometimes dominant role. He attributed this change to the church's decline as a social institution or to the increasingly social heterogeneity of the population. Ibid., 56–57.

The "shoot-out at the B of E Corral" is a case in point. The lay nature of the LDS Church and the consequent widespread participation of Mormon clergy—stake presidents, bishops, and "ordinary" priesthood holders—in the politics of the school board gives the Salt Lake experience a unique cast. Religion is often the defining category in Utah, both in determining school policy and also the extent to which public schools promote the values of Mormon taxpayers. It is my conclusion that religious affiliation overrode other social considerations, although it may also have supplemented them in 1943. Given the lay nature of the Mormon Church, the overlapping of professional, religious, and political interests of the six men and one Mormon woman is perhaps inevitable. Despite the encouragement of West and the leadership of Richards, there is no evidence of an organized "strategy." The closest thing to a public statement was the *Deseret News* editorial, and it would have been surprising for a major daily *not* to have taken a position on such a volatile public issue. Rather, the obvious intersection of ecclesiastical experience and civic prominence of school board members and citizens' delegation meant that the First Presidency did not need to announce a position statement or exert public pressure. By 1943 and perhaps because of the released-time issue, the virtues Richard R. Lyman reportedly attributed to a "balanced" board had diminished. Loyal Mormons in such a position automatically reflected the values of Mormon society. In some years, fully half of the board were actually members of Salt Lake stake presidencies.

But by 1956, things had changed. What could have been a power showdown over the issue of graduation credit for seminary classes reflected greater circumspection. In spite of clear Mormon numerical superiority on the board, the proposal for seminary credit was withdrawn. Certainly the drive lost energy once Wilkinson was incapacitated, but others could have carried the proposal forward had not other factors combined: M. Lynn Bennion's consistent reluctance about the project and his appraisal that the seminary curriculum could not be "objective" and nonsectarian, public resistance from non-Mormons, even covert resistance from Mormon board members, and the discouraging opinion of the board's lawyer. The prospect of having professional educators screen seminary materials for Mormon doctrines must have affronted Mormon desires for control of their curriculum.

Stockman's point about the lack of popular support may also have been

a crucial element. Thousands of parents were not demanding graduation credit. On crucial issues—such as released-time—the will to accrue and use power was there. By 1890 Mormons had given up much of their anti-capitalistic economy and their political hegemony. Between 1890 and 1920, they accepted the basic premises of the free market system and its corollary, the free public school. But they did not embrace it; rather they feared its power over their children unless they could find a way to teach their own values. The 1943 seminary issue shows Mormon determination to protect their children from a secularized educational system by balancing it with a religious system. By electing people they trusted, they assured the enunciation and continuation of their values. But the 1956 contest shows a reluctance to push an issue to confrontation for any lesser cause.

The released-time issue in 1943 and the graduation credit controversy of 1956 were landmarks in the history of the Salt Lake City school district. They were the last occasions in which a religious issue played a conspicuous public role in the governance of the city's public schools. Religious considerations almost certainly continued to play an influential role, but at least those voices were muted, speaking the language of civic responsibility and cooperation rather than the strident language of public confrontation.

VICTORIAN PORNOGRAPHIC IMAGERY IN ANTI-MORMON LITERATURE

Craig L. Foster

THE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT of plural marriage at a special conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1852 was the signal for a new era of anti-Mormon activity. Opponents of the Church had questioned the morality of the Mormons in general and their leaders in particular since the movement's founding in 1830. However, the public announcement of a practice so foreign to the accepted norms of Victorian society added new potency to the pens of anti-Mormon writers. For the rest of the nineteenth century and the first few decades of the twentieth century, lurid tales of Mormon treachery, gross sensuality, and innocent captives intrigued, horrified, and titillated readers in America and Europe.[1]

The moral fulminations of the exposé drew on the deeply rooted forms of political and religious tract-writing, and the moralistic documentary with

CRAIG L. FOSTER, who has an M.A. in history and an MLIS from Brigham Young University, wrote his thesis on "Anti-Mormon Pamphleteering in Great Britain, 1837–1860" and has published in *Louisiana History*. He is a cataloguer of British genealogical sources. For their help and suggestions, he thanks Suzanne Foster, Newell G. Bringhurst, Ronald W. Walker, B. Carmon Hardy, and Melvin T. Smith.

[1]The polemical literature written against Mormonism fits well within the definition of polemical literature with other aims: it contains a vitriolic attack on the doctrines, foundations, and morality of a people or movement. Good studies of LDS polygamy are Jessie L. Embry, *Mormon Polygamous Families: Life in the Principle* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), and Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986). See also Leonard Arrington and Jon Haupt, "Intolerable Zion: The Image of Mormonism in Nineteenth-Century American Literature," *Western Humanities Review* 22 (Summer 1968): 243–60.

its anthropological details drew on the newer but even more popular genre of Victorian travel and exploration literature. Both were considered socially responsible, educational, and proper reading for a mixed audience. Many denunciations of polygamy, both in the United States and in England, fell squarely within one or more of these genres. However, a significant minority of anti-Mormon writers exploited these forms to gain a wider audience. Under the thin veil of documenting exotic practices or denouncing unorthodox religious activities, these writers created erotic tales of male sexual aggression and female sexual passivity. And the erotic images used to sway public opinion against the Mormon Church came largely from the well-developed genre of Victorian pornography.

Anti-Catholic Erotica

From Elizabethan times, tales of Catholic atrocities and rumors of "popish" invasion plots were common among the British; and anti-Catholic paranoia exported well with emigrants to America. There they easily transformed themselves, making the United States the target of Rome's unholy plots of conquest and control.[2]

Probably the best known anti-Catholic work of the nineteenth century was Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery* (New York: American Society for Promoting the Principles of the Protestant Reformation, 1836). This purported autobiography of a Protestant who became a nun after attending a Catholic school was "the most popular book written in America before *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*" Among its lurid motifs are convent

[2]"Classic" pre-Victorian and Victorian anti-Catholic works, all of which contain elements of sexual exposé, include Maurice LaChatre, *Histoires des Papes* (Paris: Docks de la Librarie, 1877); *The History of the Confessional Unmasked* (N.p.: Protestant Evangelical Union, n.d.); *The History of the Flagellants* (London: n.pub., 1777); Paul Febal, *Jesuits!* 5th ed. (Paris: n.pub., 1877); Adelle Esquiros, *Les Marchands D'Amour* (Paris: n.pub., 1865); *The Adventure of Isabella with a Fryer who... debauched her before an Alter, at Thirteen Years old* (London: n.pub., n.d.); *The Cloisters Laid Open* (London: n.pub., n.d.); *Le Manuel du Clerg* (France: n.pub., 1843); *Venus in the Cloister: or, The Nun in Her Smock,* Eng. ed. (London: n.pub., 1692); and Rev. Michael Smith, *Christianity Unmasked: or, Unavoidable Ignorance Preferable to Corrupt Christianity* (London: n.pub., 1771), as cited in Pisanus Fraxi, *Centuria Librorus Absconditorum* (New York: Documentary Books, Inc., 1962), 260–61, 494–501. As critic Peter Wagner observes, many of these works featured "the Pope as a lecher," but others targeted newer religions. Henry Fielding's *The Female Husband* (London, 1746) portrayed Methodists as "hypocritical perverts keen on lesbian and homosexual activities," and Christopher Anstey's *The New Bath Guilds* (London, 1766) ridiculed a "fornicating Methodist preacher." Wagner, *Eros Revived: Erotica of the Enlightenment in England and America* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1988), 77, 67.

life as "a ceaseless round of forced sex and sadistic penances, presided over by the priests who had access to the nuns through a tunnel from the rectory." Monk claims that, worn down by improper priestly propositions, she finally submitted and had intercourse with three priests in one night. When she "became pregnant by another," she escaped from the convent to save her unborn baby's life.[3]

Monk's tale launched a "flourishing genre" of works detailing the purported immorality of Catholic priests and nuns. Many ex-priests, trading on their status, wrote scandalizing tracts to begin new "careers in anti-Catholic sensationalism."[4] In discrediting Catholicism, these writers simultaneously titillated their readers' sexual interests, played upon their suppressed fear of sexuality, and contributed, according to Gardella, "to the modern ethic of sexual pleasure by increasing the amount and the explicitness of the discourse about sex."[5]

VICTORIAN PORNOGRAPHIC MOTIFS

Under their "educational" guise, sexual exposés were commercially exploitive, catering to the prurient interests of people who lived in a society of complex and contradictory sexual behavior. Middle-class Victorians expected themselves to restrain or repress their sexuality and publicly portray purity, wholesomeness, and virtue; but excesses of repression continually forced to the surface an undercurrent of sexual interest that manifested itself in extensive prostitution, sado-masochism, fetishism, child sexual abuse, pornography, sex-scandal news articles, lengthy reports of divorce cases, religious tracts focused on sexual restraint, and "a torrent of advertisements in the popular press for potions for, or to safeguard against, potency, abortion, masturbation, etc."[6] It is difficult to avoid seeing such

[3]Peter Gardella, *Innocent Ecstasy: How Christianity Gave America an Ethic of Sexual Pleasure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 25–16. Ray Allen Billington, "Maria Monk and Her Influence," *Catholic Historical Review* 22 (October 1936): 295–96, points out that Maria bore a second child out of wedlock in 1838, greatly discrediting her previous claims. In 1849 she was arrested for picking the pockets of a client in a brothel and died in prison shortly afterward.

[4]Gardella, *Innocent Ecstasy,* 26–27.

[5]Ibid., 26.

[6]Russell M. Goldfarb, *Sexual Repression and Victorian Literature* (Lewisburg, Tennessee: Bucknell University Press, 1970), 20; Phillip A. Gibbs, "Self-Control and Male Sexuality in the Advice Literature of Nineteenth-Century America, 1830–1860," *Journal of American Culture* 9 (Summer 1986): 37–41; and G. J. Barker-Benfield, "The Spermatic Economy: A Nineteenth-

works as institutionalizing hypocrisy—for sexually sensational news articles and tracts were socially acceptable as long as they ostensibly condemned the very "sins" that they were taking such pains to describe.

One of the earliest and best examples of the use of pornographic imagery in moralizing fiction is the anonymously written *The Lustful Turk,* published in London in 1828. The dey (the "lustful Turk") has Sylvia kidnapped and taken to a slave market where men handle, fondle, and humiliate her. The dey, disguised as a representative of the French Consulate, buys her, has a fake English priest perform a fraudulent marriage, and then, presumably as her lawful husband, awakens her to sensual delights. He then reveals his true identity and reunites her with Emily, a lost friend, who had already become the dey's sex slave. The contented *menage à trois* breaks up suddenly when yet another virgin, instead of succumbing to the dey's sensual skill, castrates him. The considerably less-lustful Turk releases Sylvia and Emily, who return to England and relate their adventures.[7]

Unlike Monk's tale, *The Lustful Turk* makes no claim of being nonfiction; however, it is told in first person, leaving the impression that it is "closer to actuality, less invented, less a fantasy, more immediate and authentic than a narrative in any other form."[8] Thus, a first-person narrator, the sexual prowess and exoticism of the aggressor, and an innocent victim are all standard motifs in Victorian pornography. The escape provides a reasonable framing device for narrating the story and draws on the captivity narrative, long a staple in religious tracts.

Thus, the devices for marginalization, sensationalizing, and sexual stereotyping were already in place when new and threatening groups challenged the status quo. "Mormons, Masons, Indians, Communists, Fascists

Century View of Sexuality," *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective,* edited by Michael Gordon (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978). It is therefore not surprising that Mormon men, condemned for their "lechery" were also envied for their supposed sexual powers. Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Mormon Elder's Wafers: Images of Mormon Virility in Patent Medicine Ads," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Autumn 1976): 89–93, describes "The Mormon Elder's Damiana Wafers" (ca. 1884–88) and "Mormon Bishop Pills" (ca. 1906).

[7]Steven Marcus, *The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth Century England* (New York: Basic Books, 1966), 202–3. *The Lustful Turk* went through several printings in the next four decades, with title variations; and another novel with virtually the same plot, *Scenes in the Seraglio* (ca. 1855–60), was supposedly written by the same author. Pisanus Fraxi, *The Encyclopedia of Erotic Literature: Catena Liborum Tacendorium*... (New York: Documentary Books, Inc., 1963), 3:134–37.

[8]Marcus, *The Other Victorians,* 203–4.

and Muslims have all . . . figured as villains in the literature of sexual threat," observes Gardella. "People have always projected the desires they cannot acknowledge onto their enemies."[9] A significant number of anti-Mormon tracts and novels used the predictable format: the first-person narrator (usually a young woman) goes to exotic Salt Lake City, is held in physical or emotional captivity, is forced to witness or experience sexual bondage and licentiousness, and either dies pathetically or escapes to relate the experience as cautionary tale.[10]

Probably the most important convention for both pornographer and anti-Mormon writer was the image of the innocent victim, a device borrowed straight from Maria Monk. A main theme of Victorian pornography "was the defilement of purity, and the most pure object available for exploitation was a young virgin, usually blond and always having large eyes."[11] Maria Ward in 1855 described her heroine as "scarcely eighteen years of age, of full rounded form, and complexion that rivalled the peach when ripened by the southern sun, lips of the cherry, and eyes liquid and blue as the heart of a spring violet."[12] Orvilla Belisle's heroine had a "soft voice" and "pearly lids drooping over her dove-like eyes, while the mass of golden curls fell over her . . . brow and neck."[13]

Personality and character were seldom important in creating these icons for ravishment. Ronald Pearsall, a historian of Victorian sexuality, explains: "A virgin adored from afar and a virgin raped have one thing in common. They are not real people; they serve to answer a need. We see this in pornography where virgins cram the pages awaiting their traducers,

[9]*Innocent Ecstasy*, 32. David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion . . . : An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47 (September 1960): 216–22, discusses the projection of sexual fantasies onto perceived enemies. As another example, Robert J. Klaus, *The Pope, The Protestants, and the Irish* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987), 301–2, 309–10, demonstrates that English "Celtophobia" stigmatized the Irish as dull and immoral.

[10]Similar to *The Lustful Turk* in both style and contents are Orvilla S. Belisle's *The Prophets; or, Mormonism Unveiled* (1855), later published as *In the Grip of the Mormons: By an Escaped Wife of a Mormon Elder* (London: Henry Hardingham, 1919), and Maria Ward's *Female Life Among the Mormons* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1856) and *The Mormon Wife: A Life Story of the Sacrifices, Sorrows and Sufferings of Woman* (1872).

[11]Helen Hazen, *Endless Rapture: Rape, Romance, and the Female Imagination* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), 35.

[12]Maria Ward, *Mormonism Unveiled; A History of Mormonism, from Its Rise to the Present Time* (London: Charles H. Clarke, 1855), 160.

[13]Belisle, *In the Grip of the Mormons*, 107–8.

the pallid reflections of readers' fantasies."[14] Helen Hazen, a literary critic, argues that the perennial popularity of romance provides "plentiful evidence that both rape and a broader spectrum of seemingly unpleasant impositions are forced onto women by themselves for the sheer sake of enjoyment."[15] At least in the case of Victorian middle-class women, fictional rape and its consequent victim status allowed a woman to simultaneously enjoy sex (usually with a skilled and exotic partner) without being morally accountable for her activity.

In pornography, women are disposable; they cease to exist once they have served their purposes. In the case of Victorian anti-Mormon literature, the seduced girl nearly always dies, not only heightening the pathos and stressing her passivity, but tidying up any loose ends quickly. For example, one sensationalistic tract, *Appalling Disclosures! Mormon Revelations, Being the History of Fourteen Females, . . . Victims of Mormon Spiritual Marriages! Wives, Mothers, Daughters, and Sisters Lured away from their Homes, and United To The Same Husbands!* . . . , matches its lurid seductions with victims' deaths from sorrow and shame, tempered by a few who go mad.[16] William Jarman, a former inmate in an insane asylum and a convert to the Church who was excommunicated for cruelty and unchristian behavior, claimed that thousands of females had become "British White Slaves." Many "fresh young girls" led into the "Mormon Harems" of these "lecherous old scamps" had "committed suicide, whilst many more [had] gone to an early grave—died of a broken heart."[17]

Victorian social mores created two stereotypes of women: the angel and the whore. If some anti-Mormon writers drew on the pornographic image of the angelic woman, seduced and betrayed into sexuality by a scheming Mormon male, others drew on the pornographic image of the whore. John Benjamin Franklin termed plural marriage "but another name

[14]Ronald Pearsall, *Public Purity, Private Shame: Victorian Sexual Hypocrisy Exposed* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), 38. Maria Ward's *Female Life Among the Mormons*, 323, pushes objectification to an extreme by having a Mormon father refer to his daughters as "woman flesh."

[15]*Endless Rapture*, 16.

[16]*Appalling Disclosures! Mormon Revelations, Being the History of Fourteen Females* . . . (London: M. Elliot, 1856), 3. The author also stated that the Mormons had created a new Sodom to ruin innocence.

[17]William Jarman, *British Female Slaves* (N.p.: Anti-Mormon Tracts No. 13, n.d.), 1. The biographical details are in "Jarman and the Mormons; Interviewing a Mormon from Utah," *Herald of Wales*, 14 July 1888.

for indiscriminate prostitution."[18] An evangelical minister described Salt Lake City as a "bedlam, brothel, sink of iniquity, Hades, and a vortex of moral ruin," where "each family is a house of prostitution and all liars, thieves, drunkards, libertines, and fit subjects of any and all delusions."[19] A third writer charged: "The names of some representative women of Mormonism should be handed down to posterity, branded with eternal infamy for the part they have had in the ruin of young girls and women. They are responsible for the destruction of more girls . . . than all the bad women of the United States put together."[20] Still another railed against "these filthy 'saints' " and "the 'priests' of these unclean brothels." Although this portrayal showed Mormon wives as shameless and indecent, relatively few sources followed the model of *The Lustful Turk* in showing women experiencing sexual pleasure.[21]

Instead, a more typical description of a seduction emphasized the sexual magnetism of the Mormon male, the hypnotized passivity of his innocent victim, and a wealth of sultry detail: "Now the burning lips of the speaker sunk lower until they rested on her brow, his hand closed softly over her own, while his arm wound gently round her, and the bird, be-

[18]John Benjamin Franklin, *The Mysteries and the Crimes of Mormonism; or, a Voice from the Utah Pandemonium* (London: C. Elliott, ca. 1858–59), 3.

[19]C. R. Van Emman, Letters to James H. McNeill, 2 January and 28 February 1857, as quoted in Clifford S. Griffin, *Their Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800–1865* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1960), 207.

[20]Jennie Anderson Froiseth, *The Women of Mormonism; or, The Story of Polygamy as Told by the Victims Themselves* (New York: William H. Shepard, 1882), 150. The anonymous author of *Mormon Morals: By a Disillusioned Convert* (Cleveland, Ohio: Utah Gospel Mission, 1920s), 4, claimed that 80 percent of the prostitutes in Salt Lake City were of Mormon parentage, while a sensational article, "George Q. Breaks Out Again," *The Kinsman* 11 (Salt Lake City, June 1900): 252, stated that "The houses of prostitution in Utah are filling up with Mormon girls." These claims, however, were unfounded. My research among census, police, and other records of that time show that Utah's prostitutes were mostly non-Mormon women who had been prostitutes in other states before reaching Utah.

[21]Rev. Edmund Clay, *Tracts on Mormonism* (London: Wertheim and Macintosh; Leamington: J. Glover, 1855), 20. John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints; or, An Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842), 220, accused Mormon women of "laps[ing] from the strait path of virtue" and calls them "Cyprian Saints," an allusion to Cyprus, the birthplace of Aphrodite. During the nineteenth century, "Cyprian" was slang for "prostitute." Winifred Graham in *Judas of Salt Lake* (London: Eveleigh Nash Co., 1916), 114, wrote of sexually potent elders "charging women's batteries." As quoted in Malcolm R. Thorp, "Winifred Graham and the Mormon Image," *Journal of Mormon History* 6 (1979): 107–21.

wildered, fascinated, but powerless, sank into the arms of the fowler."[22] Maria Ward's heroine is held captive in the harem of Brigham Young:

> Lizzie, pale and trembling, with her large liquid eyes dilating, stood paralyzed with terror, and as she encountered his hateful gaze gloating over her, she shrank away as if a serpent held her hands in its folds and was looking down on its victim.
>
> . . . He held her arms pinioned by her sides as he clasped her in his powerful hands. She called loudly for help, begged and prayed to be released; and when he turned a deaf ear to her entreaties, she shrieked wildly, and her shrieks were answered from the inmates of the den of infamy in mocking derisive laughter.[23]

Yet another pornographic convention in anti-Mormon works were parallels between the popular image of harem training and the temple ceremony. Increase and Maria Van Dusen claimed in 1852 that the temple rites prepared the women for the Mormon harem.[24] Franklin quoted Van Dusen's statement, then added salacious, imaginative details. According to Franklin, the temple ceremony begins by stripping and washing the prospective bride, then leading her, still naked, into a room representing the Garden of Eden. After she partakes of the forbidden fruit, Brigham Young, portraying the Lord, rushes in.

> This lecherous "High Priest," having feasted his eyes as he had oftentimes before, or done whatever he pleased with the "sheep led to the slaughter," according to the privilege and power appertaining to his office, now goes through the remainder of the obscene farce, by re-dressing the spiritual bride for the inner chamber, or "paradise," gorgeously bedecked for the occasion; also kissing her, blessing her, feasting her on the bridal supper, and rejoicing with her in the name of the Lord! And while invoking the holy name of Jesus, they often revel at a libidinous bacchanal composed of a great number of these spiritual wives (mothers and daughters) and their saintly paramours, as a fitting finale to the disgusting ceremony before celebrated.[25]

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[22]Belisle, *In the Grip of the Mormons*, 56.

[23]Ward, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 162. "Inmates" was applied to both prisoners and brothel prostitutes. William Jarman compared polygyny to "slavery and prostitution" in *Beware of the Vile Deceivers! Certain Lewd Fellows of a Baser Sort* (Bristol: Anti-Mormon Society, ca. 1890), 2.

[24]Increase McGee Van Dusen and Maria Van Dusen, *Startling Disclosures of the Wonderful Ceremonies of the Mormon Spiritual-Wife System, Being the Celebrated "Endowment"* (New York: N.pub., 1852), 7.

[25]*The Gates of the Mormon Hell Opened! or the Licentious Revellings of the Rev. Brigham Young, and the Elders, Apostles, and Priests of the Church of Latter-Day-Saints, with their Many Spiritual Wives and Concubines; and all the other Abominations of Mormonism Denounced* (London: James Gilbert, n.d.), 5–7. This twelve-page pamphlet further announced

In another pamphlet, Franklin elaborated on the harem motif of the physical examination, again borrowing the detail of eunuchs from Middle Eastern harems, but with a distinctively Mormon twist:

> You . . . have to undress – the presiding elder examines you to see whether every part of your body is sound: if a male, even to see whether "he be wounded in the testes;" if not, he is allowed to pass and receive his endowment; if he is not sound, they make a eunuch of him – whether he like [sic] it or not. Many a man, who had taken a good-looking wife with him, and would not give her up to any other man when required (by the High Priest), was also made a eunuch of. . . . They still claim the right to continue this diabolical practice, though many have spoken against it.[26]

The non-Mormon image of numerous Mormon wives competing for the husband's attention became a comic element in newspaper and periodical cartoons, but it also played on the erotic theme of the sexual availability of many women for one man.[27] Orvilla Belisle wrote in her 1919 novel, *In the Grip of the Sultan*: "Behind the Prophet and his Sultana . . . rode the most beautiful of his harem, gaily coquetting with their escorts." In a hall, the prophet and "reigning Sultana" sat together "while a step lower were ranged the seats of those of the harem." [28]"

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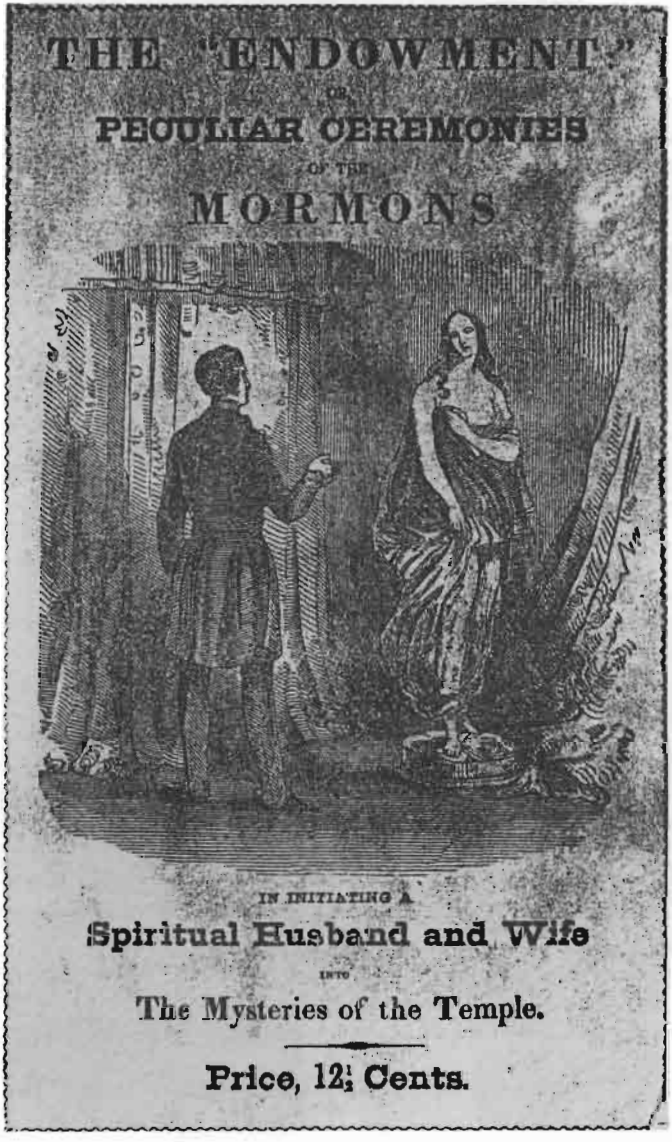
itself as "The most Authentic Exposure of MORMONISM ever published." Provocative subtitles, a characteristic of Victorian novels in general as well as of pornographic fiction, were transferred to anti-Mormon works. *The Lustful Turk's* subtitles, for example, tell us "that its scenes 'faithfully and vividly' depict the full particulars of what happened, 'with the zest and simplicity which always gives guarantee for its authenticity.' And another subtitle states that this novel is 'an interesting history, founded on facts.'" Marcus, *The Other Victorians*, 204.

[26]Franklin, *The Mysteries and the Crimes of Mormonism*, 10. The convention of the temple as the scene for licentious sexual activity was common among anti-Mormon writers as early as the mid-1840s; but as late as 1922, a Canadian magazine published an article: "Loathsome Mormon Marriage Rites, Semi-Nude Elder & Half-Clad Bride," *Jack Canuck* 40 (18 March 1922): 7.

[27]For examples of how Mormon women were visually portrayed in publications of the times, see Bunker and Bitton, *The Mormon Graphic Image*, 123–36. An English writer and former Mormon book agent from London, William Cook, recorded a comic song comparing "The Sultan, the Pope, and the Mormon." The sultan could have women but not wine, the pope could have wine but not women; but the Mormon could have both – "and therefore also Mormonism is better than any system under the sun." *The Mormons: The Dream and the Reality* (London: Joseph Master, 1857), 21.

[28]Belisle, *In the Grip of the Mormons*, 107–8. According to Malcolm Thorp in "'The Mormon Peril': The Crusade Against the Saints in Britain, 1910–1914," *Journal of Mormon History* 2 (1975): 76, Winifred Graham's description of Mormon plural marriage in *The Sin of Utah* (London: Everett & Co., 1912) "resembles more closely a Turkish sultan's harem than a rural community in Utah."

This cover illustration for Increase and Maria Van Dusen's exposé sends a prurient message by its juxtapostion of the correctly attired male and the semi-draped, empedestalled female.



The linking of Mormonism with Islam was the simple projection of the Eastern stereotype of treachery and gross sensuality on the despised religion. These comparisons began as early as the time of Joseph Smith, usually comparing appearances of Moroni to Joseph Smith with the appearance of Gabriel to Mohammed or the political and military nature of the respective religions. The public admission of Mormon polygamy probably made comparisons between their marriage systems—and magnifications of their perceived sensual aspects—inevitable.[29] A tract by an English clergyman added, to the usual descriptions of plural marriage, the observation, "[Mormons] look forward, as do the Mahometans, to a sensual Paradise."[30] Another writer made the connection explicit: "The Mormon principle of polygamy is the doctrine of the Koran, encircled with a spiritualistic verbiage to conceal its innate indelicacy and sensual grossness."[31] A third commented, "The fictions of Mohammed, the story of Robinson Crusoe, or the 'Arabian Night's Entertainment,' are respectable volumes by the side of the Book of Mormon."[32]

Torture, murder, and sadism are also motifs borrowed from Victorian pornographic literature to further titillate anti-Mormon readers. Maria Ward describes how one woman was "gagged, carried a mile into the woods, stripped nude, tied to a tree, and scourged till the blood ran from her wounds to the ground . . . " Another woman had "her mouth and tongue

[29]See Bruce Kinney, *Mormonism: The Islam of America* (New York: Flemming H. Revell Company, 1912), 5, and "The American Mohammedanism," *The Missionary Review of the World* 22 (January to December 1899): 844, which declared, "Islam is a dry rot, but the robe of Mormonism is rank, and smells to heaven."

[30]Rev. C. F. S. Money, *Mormonism Unmasked* (London: Wertheim & Macintosh, 1857), 8. While Money may have been referring to the LDS belief in a physical resurrection, the context of Mormon/Muslim polygamy throws the associational weight on the perceived sensuality of both religions.

[31]Dawson Burns, *Mormonism: Explained and Exposed* (London: Houston and Stoneman, 1853), 37.

[32]Rev. Edmund Clay, *The Doctrines and Practices of "The Mormons" and the Immoral Character of their Prophet Joseph Smith, Delineated from Authentic Sources* (London: Wertheim & Macintosh; Leamington: J. Glover, 1853), 31. In view of the common reputation of *Arabian Nights* as indecent, this comparison is a pointed though totally inaccurate one. The censored English versions that preceded the fuller translations of John Payne (1882–84) and Richard Burton (1885–88) omitted the more lurid "stories of homosexuality, bestiality, and simple earthy obscenity. [But] even the romances set precedents for explicitness." Fawn M. Brodie, *The Devil Drives: A Life of Sir Richard Burton* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1967), 300.

seared with a red-hot iron . . . " Franklin, in addition to claiming that he had witnessed this event, claimed that Brigham Young had murdered two wives.[33]

A particularly unsavory aspect of Victorian repressed sexuality took the form of child sexual abuse and child prostitution. Jennie Anderson Froiseth, vice president of the Utah Anti-Polygamy Society and editor of the *Anti-Polygamy Standard,* thus had a ready fund of image and public indignation when she recorded visiting a squalid three-wife, generationally complicated home in a small southern Utah community, in which the husband had married two sisters, one of whom had a daughter by a previous marriage. The husband married this daughter. The daughter divorced him, married another man, bore a daughter, and allowed this girl, her own daughter, to be forced into marriage with the husband (the unwilling bride's step-grandfather) at age fifteen "under circumstances so revolting," hints Froiseth, "that delicacy would not allow me to repeat them, even to one of my own sex."[34]

The charge of incest, particularly tantalizing as the "last sexual taboo," appeared with surprising frequency among anti-polygamy writers.[35] William Cook charged that Mormons practiced "the fearful sin of incest, which is so intimately and closely connected with polygamy."[36] John E. Davis, a Welsh ex-Mormon who claimed to have traveled to America, described Mormon marriages as "merely a state of concubinage," and announced, "I

[33]Ward, *Female Life Among the Mormons,* 429; Franklin, *The Mysteries and the Crimes of Mormonism,* 115, 3.

[34]Froiseth, *The Women of Mormonism,* 137–38. Froiseth, born in 1847 in Ireland, came to Utah in 1871 to marry Bernard Froiseth, an army surveyor at Fort Douglas who later became involved in Utah mining. Barbara Hayward, "Utah's Anti-Polygamy Society, 1878–1884" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1980), 27–28, 75.

[35]Jessie L. Embry comments, "It was, perhaps, inevitable that nineteenth-century attacks on polygamy as a debased and debasing sexual practice became linked with the ultimate taboo—incest." "Ultimate Taboos: Incest and Mormon Polygamy," *Journal of Mormon History* 18 (Spring 1992): 94. Her article reconstructs and documents fifteen cases of nineteenth-century "incest," including two court cases; however, most of the alleged cases were incestuous only by definitions that forbade marriages between cousins and the marriage of a man to sisters. Although the writers who reported Mormon incest were not necessarily pornographic, the popular interest in incest was intense. According to Peter Gay, "incest, the violation of man's sacred taboo, especially on the part of virile father and pubescent daughter" was "sure to keep the [Victorian] reader's interest at a high pitch." *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud,* Vol. 1: *Education of the Senses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 370–71.

[36]Cook, *The Mormons: The Dream and the Reality* (London: Joseph Master, 1857).

know men living there who have married both the mother and her daughter. There is a man living in the first ward who has four wives, and who is actually the father of children by his own daughter."[37] Another writer asserted, "Literally in Utah men frequently marry a whole family."[38]

Polygamy was considered, on the face of it, an affront to the Victorian institution of strictly monogamous marriage.[39] Thus, anti-polygamy writers dwelt on the horror experienced by a woman who knew that her husband was bestowing his sexual favors on other women. Jennie Anderson Froiseth claimed that one first wife, learning that her husband had just married a young plural wife, "faint[ed] at the feet of her treacherous husband, was taken to bed . . . and in two days was carried to her grave, the victim of a husband's perfidy."[40] Other anti-Mormon writers shocked the reader's sensibilities doubly by suggesting a bizarre form of socially sanctioned adultery. Alfreda Bell claimed that Mormon women, "after living with one husband were requested to move on from one to another until they had sampled all."[41] Cook described in scandalized tones a "proxy system"; the missionary husband would turn his wife or wives over to another man who would have full sexual access to them.[42] Franklin, who also described a system of proxy husbands while husbands served missions, lamented that polygamy

[37]John E. Davis, *Mormonism Unveiled: or, A Peep into the Principles & Practices of the Latter-day Saints*, 3rd ed. (Cardiff: J. G. Patterson, 1858), 30. Although the story of the man having children by his own daughter seems highly unlikely, the practice of marrying sisters and even mothers and daughters from previous marriages was practiced by members of the Church. Joseph Smith married four sets sets of sisters (Sarah and Maria Lawrence, Emily and Eliza Partridge, Almera W. and Dekena Johson, and Zina Diantha and Prescindia Huntington), and one mother and daughter (Patty and Sylvia Sessions). Two stepdaughters of George Q. Cannon, Emily and Caroline, married two of his sons, William T. and Willard T., by another wife.

[38]*The Mysteries of Mormonism: A Full Exposure of Its Secret Practices and Hidden Crimes, by an Apostle's Wife* (New York: Richard K. Fox, Proprietor Police Gazette, 1882), 57.

[39]For a discussion of the explicit Mormon attack on monogamy, see B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

[40]*Women of Mormonism*, p. 109.

[41]Alfreda Eva Bell, *Boadicea, The Mormon Wife: Life Scenes in Utah* (Baltimore: n.pub., 1855), 54, as quoted in Charles A. Cannon, "The Awesome Power of Sex: The Polemical Campaign Against Mormon Polygamy," *Pacific Historical Review* 43 (February 1974): 69.

[42]Cook, *The Mormons: The Dream and the Reality*, 45–56. He may have picked up the term "proxy" from the system of doing vicarious temple work for the dead; and certainly there was a social expectation, though not always realized in practice, that others in the extended family or ward would provide some economic assistance for the family of a missionary.

made men as well as women lose "all decency and self-respect, and degenerate into gross and disgusting animals."[43]

Another Victorian convention exalted modesty and delicacy in conversation, particularly among women, who were considered naturally pious and spiritual.[44] Thus, violation of these canons through sexuality, immodesty, or salacious speech, was also a pornographic convention. Steven Marcus describes how the lewd conversation in one novel, properly presented as the anthropological outcome of the characters' low social status, provided a vehicle for sexual details that could not otherwise have had a place in Victorian fiction.[45] The anonymous author of *The Mysteries of Mormonism*, an 1880s exposé, lamented the "indecency in conversation" of "women and children. . . . Several wives of one man, with their children present," the author continued indignantly, "have been known to indulge in such indecent conversation as would bring the blush to the face of a modest woman if repeated to her alone." Sexualized early, "urchins of eight and nine know more of what they should not know than youths of sixteen and eighteen in a refined community. They are not only afforded opportunities of thus corrupting their minds, but often encouraged to do so."[46]

As the women are stereotyped, so are men. Victorian pornographic novels typically portrayed seducers as coarse but vital with "animal magnetism," blunted moral sensibilities, and insatiable sexual appetites, who did not stop short of rape but who usually relied on even more irresistible means. Authors often portrayed them as being in league with Satan and using evil arts to mesmerize and deceive helpless virgins. The women were

[43]Franklin, *The Mysteries and the Crimes of Mormonism*, 11.

[44]Hence, Clay, *The Doctrines and Practices*, 69–70, warned his female readers that the Mormons, "horrid women-stealers," would take from them what every woman holds "dearer than life itself—your chastity and your honor." As late as the 1920s, Albert King Morris, *A Word of Warning to Young Women: The Unseen Hand of Mormonism* (Pittsburgh: The National Order of Anti-Polygamy Crusaders, ca. 1920), 4, urged young women not to desert their home for "a place in one of the Mormon harems," and to "forsake not the sacredness of [their] true womanhood."

[45]*The Other Victorians*, 104.

[46]*The Mysteries of Mormonism*, 61. Orvilla Belisle also asserted that Mormons "were . . . unaccustomed to modesty." *In the Grip of the Mormons*, 108. An anonymous work claiming to be by a former Mormon four decades later, claimed that Mormon girls in revealing attire shamelessly attempted to lure non-Mormon boys out of a party into the darkness. *Mormon Morals* (Cleveland: Utah Gospel Mission, ca. 1920s), 3.

This caricature of a flashily dressed Brigham Young and other "elders" lasciviously inspecting obviously willing candidates for polygamy appeared in The Mysteries of Mormonism: A Full Exposure of Its Secret Practices and Hidden Crimes, by an Apostle's Wife *(New York: Richard K. Fox, Proprietor Police Gazette, 1882), between pp. 12–13.*

ARRIVAL OF AN INSTALLMENT OF WIVES AT SALT LAKE.

generally both attracted to and repelled by these "demon-lovers."[47] Anti-Mormon writers intensified the shock of their revelations by portraying men as evil and unnatural. According to one anti-Mormon pamphleteer, Brigham Young "glories in his shame, so as to make every friend of modesty and morality blush for him, and sigh over his evil example, which must 'corrupt good manners.' "[48] Numerous articles and cartoons caricatured his political despotism and sexual prowess, both characteristics of the Lustful Turk figure in pornographic literature.[49] The location of Salt Lake City, just as exotic and unknown as a Turkish harem, lent itself to such sexual stereotyping. Sexually charged words surrounded Mormon men and their system of plural marriage: "conspicuously obscene, profane and immoral," "lecherous old scamps," "panderers to . . . lusts," "a system which is characterized by shameless indecencies, fearful brutalities, and almost incredible beastliness."[50]

The Popularity of Anti-Mormon Pornography

What was the appeal in this genre of literature? Why did people consume such questionable material? As with any complex question, no doubt numerous factors must be considered; but at least part of the answer must lie in the nature of Victorian society. Many Victorians, according to one social historian, believed "they were witnessing a 'crisis of the family' that threatened . . . to undermine the entire fabric of society." The cause of this crisis, they believed, was industrialization, the growth of large cities, irreligion among people no longer controlled by the fabric of small town life, and the weakening of traditional moral values.[51]

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[47]Robert M. Ireland, "The Libertine Must Die: Sexual Dishonor and the Unwritten Law in the Nineteenth-Century United States," *Journal of Social History* 23 (Spring 1989): 32; and Toni Reed, *Demon-Lovers and Their Victims in British Fiction* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1888).

[48]Burns, *Mormonism, Explained and Exposed*, 26.

[49]For analyses of these licentious and over-sexed characterizations, see Douglas McKay, "The Puissant Procreator: Comic Ridicule of Brigham Young," *Sunstone* 7, no. 6 (November-December 1982): 15–17; Bunker and Bitton, *The Mormon Graphic Image*; and Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, "The Death of Brigham Young: Occasion for Satire," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (Fall 1986): 358–70.

[50]Morris, *A Word of Warning to Young Women*, 4; Jarman, *British Female Slaves*, 2; Franklin, *The Mysteries and the Crimes of Mormonism*, 3; and Froiseth, *The Women of Mormonism*, 149.

[51]F. M. L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830–1900* (London: Fontana Press, 1988), 85.

In an effort to stop this free-fall to self-destruction, clergymen and reformers published an extensive body of literature stressing self-help, clean living, and a return to religion. One observer has noted, "As a rule the values they promoted reflected not the world as they saw it, the harsh social reality around them, but the world as they would have liked it to be."[52] Indeed, the Victorians were at odds with themselves. Frightened by and resistant to the social changes which were overwhelming them, they were simultaneously enjoying the freedoms expressed in social activities, the arts, and literature—especially fiction.

Fiction was a relatively new form in English literature. Samuel Richardson's *Pamela: or Virtue Rewarded,* had appeared barely a century before in 1740, featuring a heroine of improbable purity who resisted every threat and blandishment of her vile, though blue-blooded, abductor until he offered honorable marriage. As literary critics William Thrall and Addison Hibbard have observed, "The nineteenth century saw the flowering of the English novel as an instrument portraying a middle-class society."[53] Thus fiction both created and reflected middle-class values; Victorian women and the men who associated closely with them were literate, had the leisure to read, and had the money to buy books or join subscription libraries. Under the moral guise of improving their minds, they could find not only entertainment but also expressions for sexual thoughts and feelings that their society denied existed for them. "The reader," observes literary critic Jon Stratton, "reads as voyeur."[54] Those who read the numerous exposés—and anti-Mormon literature was only a fraction of a flood of "tell all" narratives—were able to project their own hopes, fears, fantasies, and sexual desires safely on others.[55]

Thus, when Increase and Maria Van Dusen wrote, "I wash . . . your breast that you may give suck to a numerous posterity; your loins, bowels, etc., that you may conceive and bring forth spiritual sons and daughters;

[52]James Walvin, *Victorian Values: A Companion to the Granada Television Series* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1987), 138.

[53]William Flint Thrall and Addison Hibbard, *A Handbook to Literature,* rev. and enl. by C. Hugh Holman (New York: Odyssey Press, 1960), 322.

[54]Jon Stratton, *The Virgin Text: Fiction, Sexuality, and Ideology* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 57. Stratton also notes, on the same page, "the historical links between a rising female readership and the development of 'fiction' and of the novel form."

[55]Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience,* 368, suggests that nineteenth-century pornography "did not create sexual tastes; it concentrated, channeled, and liberated inchoate wishes."

your ——, that you may ——;" and when Jennie Froiseth's "delicacy" would not allow her to write the "revolting" details of a fifteen-year-old's forced marriage to her step-grandfather,[56] the readers were not only able but probably quite willing to add fantastic details. They were then able to react with shock, disgust, horror, envy, sexual arousal, or whatever other emotion the text created.

Accounts of multiple wives, secret temple rites, licentious behavior between the sexes, strange doctrines, and a closed society in an isolated part of the western United States increased the mystique of a dissolute sect in an exotic and forbidden land. These images naturally added fuel to the burning imaginations of the anti-Mormon writers and made fascinating reading for a willingly scandalized audience.

[56]Increase and Maria Van Dusen, *The "Endowment": or, Peculiar Ceremonies of the Mormons in Initiating a Spiritual Husband and Wife into the Mysteries of the Temple*, also titled, *Startling Disclosures of the Wonderful Ceremonies of the Mormon Spiritual-Wife System* . . . (New York: I. McGee Van Dusen and Maria his Wife, 1852), [7]; and Froiseth, *The Women of Mormonism*, 138.

Mormon Polygamy: A Bibliography, 1977–92

Patricia Lyn Scott

With Orson Pratt's public announcement of the practice of plural marriage in 1852, the immediate barrage of published attacks and countering defenses spelled the commencement of the literature on Mormon polygamy.[1] The twentieth century saw a new type of published scrutiny: scholarly examinations, largely by Mormons themselves. Davis Bitton's excellent bibliographic essay, "Mormon Polygamy," *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 101–18, analyzes 110 articles and books, published between 1907 and 1977. But the interest was just beginning. During the 1980s, plural marriage became the most common research topic in Mormon history, with an average of 2.5 articles per month being published. In 1985, a partial updating of Bitton was "Mormon Women: A Bibliography in Process, 1977–1985," by Patricia Lyn Scott and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Journal of Mormon History* 12 (1985): 113–39.

This bibliography lists titles overlooked in the 1985 bibliography and new titles published since 1985. Arranged in sixteen subject categories, it

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PATRICIA LYN SCOTT, an archivist at the Utah State Archives, has coauthored two previous articles published in the *Journal of Mormon History*. She expresses appreciation to David Whittaker and Jessie Embry for their comments and contributions.

[1]The best bibliographies of material on Mormon polygamy published from 1852 to 1900 are David J. Whittaker, comp., "Mormon Polygamy: A Selected Biblography," May 1992, photocopy of typescript in my possession and his "Early Mormon Pamphleteering" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1982), esp. chap. 6, and a similar study, *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 53–63. See also B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), esp. endnotes to chaps. 2 and 4, pp. 60–83, 153–86.

attempts to be inclusive. I welcome any overlooked items called to my attention.

The most common research categories are biography and autobiography, legal studies, and studies on families and gender. Comparative studies, theological studies, and polygamy in fiction are the least common. Bitton concluded that polygamy is a subject "rich enough to challenge the efforts of scholars."[2] Time has borne out his challenge; though significant questions have been answered since that time, Mormonism's "peculiar institution" remains an area that rewards researchers.

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[2]Bitton, "Mormon Polygamy," 118.

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Reviews

Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher. *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1992; xiii, 544 pp., illustrations, appendix, selected bibliography; $21.00. 0–87579–593–5.

Reviewed by Claudia L. Bushman

Third president Zina D. H. Young compared the Relief Society to a handful of patches transformed into a quilt (p. 421). Thanks to this longest and frankest history of the Relief Society to date, we have the pattern which makes a quilt from the disparate bits. The Relief Society now binds three million women from 135 countries and territories into a tenuous sisterhood. Both praised and humbled, this ladylike matron has steadily done good work, always devoted to the directions of founder Joseph Smith.

This book, commissioned by tenth president Barbara Smith, is an official history, published by Deseret Book Company, with a foreword by current President Elaine Jack, commemorating the Relief Society sesquicentennial. The authors Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher are insiders, participants in the unfolding drama as well as observers and interpreters of the history. Their collaboration is a typical Relief Society activity. Not one author, but three wrote the book. They all bear testimony as "enthusiastic Relief Society workers" who "freely acknowledge their faith in and adherence to the gospel" (p. x). Only the nonalphabetical arrangement of names tacitly indicates uneven labor. This loving cooperation between the generations has lasted more than a decade. As the deadline approached, both Derr and Cannon, the principal authors, were abroad on their husbands' business, one as a temple president, the other teaching professional courses. They requested that Beecher help finish the job. The three writers acknowledge "occasional variations in interpretation," (p. xi) which they have left in the finished book, showing toleration and unity beyond difference.The book has all the trappings of scholarship with careful research, notes, bibliography, and an appendix of past leaders, but primarily, this excellent book is a work of faith and devotion.

The Relief Society was born of the cooperative effort to provide shirts for workers on the Nauvoo Temple. Eliza R. Snow's constitution for this grass-roots women's group was praised but set aside by Joseph Smith, who promised to "organize the women under the priesthood after the pattern of the priesthood," (p. 27) and, on 17 March 1842, did so. At this time he pronounced the tantalizing words, "I now turn the key to you in the name of God and this Society shall rejoice and knowledge and intelligence shall flow down from this time." (pp. 1, 47) Just how does this key work? Is the key turned *over* to them? Does it divert a flow in their direction? Joseph

Smith's original intent here has been the subject of serious discussion as interpreters have tried to define a relationship both equal and hierarchical.

The authors interpret this crucial key as the authority to obtain divine knowledge and intelligence. Turning the key created the society itself, opening to women "their place and responsibility in the organization of the Church," a place "by the side of their brethren in receiving the blessings of the temple" (p. 48). The authors distinguish between authority and priesthood, acknowledging that the Relief Society has received only the first.

The ambiguity of the phrase called for clarification, particularly as keys came to be precisely defined in connection with priesthood authority. In 1855, when the official history of the Church was published, the Quorum of the Twelve changed the original "turn the key to you" in the Relief Society minutes to read, "I now turn the key in your behalf," thus reserving all powers to the prophet rather than bestowing any on the sisters (pp. 49, 74). "These alterations," we are told, "unmistakably clarified the presiding authority of priesthood leaders" (p. 74).

Eliza R. Snow admitted that woman "feels at times, neglected now—/Misjudged and unappreciated too," but asserted that "through submission, faith and constancy," with "noble independence in her heart," woman would fulfill her "present and eternal destiny" (p. 74). Relief Society women have played this role with grace and goodwill ever since.

The society's official life was suspended for more than a decade at the time of the western migration, due to a situation never dramatized at Relief Society birthday parties. The authors do not flinch from a frank discussion of polygamy or of Emma Smith's opposition to it. At closed meetings in March 1844, she used her presidency to counter the practice of "spiritual wifery," reading aloud negative documents and calling for reformation. Her militance threatened the unity required for the Church to continue. The authors call Emma's behavior "out of harmony" and comment, "In pitting her authority against that of the prophet through whom her authority had come, and in planting disorder and disunity among the sisters, Emma Smith had erred egregiously." Emma's friends, even her sister wives, "understood and forgave her," but the Relief Society met no more (p. 62).

Officially restored in Utah in 1854 as the need for organized charity manifested itself, the organization hardly had a good start when it was discontinued a second time, disrupted by the threat from Johnston's army. Having been halted twice, can the group that rose in 1866 be considered the same one that was organized in 1842 and disbanded just two years later? There is no question that it was so considered. While reorganizing, Eliza R. Snow carried around the original minute book she had brought across the plains. She emphasized continuity, reestablishing Joseph Smith's pattern. She further stressed the society's obedience to the priesthood.

Women of Covenant aims to be more than the story of a club; the book is a history of the Church from the woman's view. The title, referring to the relationship between God and women through the covenants of baptism and temple rituals, suggests this broader scope. One major theme is adaptation to the social needs of

society in tension with continuity over time. A more important theme is unity among the sisters and their relationship with the male priesthood. The authors repeatedly strike the continuity and unity themes. Many Relief Society women consider this story a sad and steady loss of power and significance, but such a view does not take into account the group's many good works, works which occupied the great majority of their energies and concerns. This group has taken some serious blows and remained committed to its original purpose.

This history is not told as a series of faith-promoting incidents, though some are included and the book ends with modern spiritual experiences. The authors speak in an admirably dispassionate voice, generally allowing contemporary figures to comment on changing events. This approach, in my opinion, reflects the stoic way that the Relief Society has related to church leadership.

An example of the tension between the Relief Society and the priesthood involves the Relief Society's wheat. In 1918, Presiding Bishop Charles W. Nibley announced that the Relief Society's cache of stored wheat would be sold to the government and instructed the bishops to comply. Unfortunately, this action was taken without conferring with the Relief Society. "[President] Emmeline Wells expressed her dismay." Bishop Nibley "personally apologized." Information regarding the "exact relationship" between the women and the Church was requested. Once again, the authority was Joseph Smith who had said "All must act in concert or nothing can be done" (p. 213). Three years later in 1921, the nonagenarian Wells was released from office. Prior to that, and in accordance with Joseph Smith's teachings, the Relief Society president had served until death. Wells, who had lived through many changes, said with faint approval, "History may not have preserved it all, there may be no tangible record of what has been gained, but sometime we shall know that nothing has been irretrievably lost" (p. 223).

Belle Spafford, president for twenty-nine years (1945–74), administered with the idea that the Relief Society was a "companion to the priesthood in building the kingdom." Like her predecessors, she was willing to accept and abide by "whatever counsel the priesthood presidency may give." (p. 304) Under her leadership, the Relief Society finally got its own home, financed by donations totaling $554,000, the equivalent of five dollars from each of the 111,000 members, dedicated in 1956.

Spafford expected and presided over such change as student stakes at BYU, the Indian Placement program, and the simplification of procedures by the correlation committee. After 1973, the society no longer produced its own lessons. The authors tell us, "If [correlation] cast a shadow over certain bright aspirations, that was the price of its protection" (p. 330). In 1970, the sisters were relieved of the responsibility for supporting their program financially. Spafford, who prided herself on her excellent financial skills, obediently turned more than $2 million dollars over to the First Presidency. The correlation of Church publications discontinued the *Relief Society Magazine* in 1971. After Spafford read this announcement to her board, she told them, "Great blessings [will] come as the sisters of Relief Society adjust to the new program" (p. 343). There was no discussion.

Despite all, the work of the Relief Society has gone on with its organized service. Spirituality and charity have guided the leaders as they sent out visiting teachers to gather donations for the poor, a chore they continued until 1944. Nineteenth-century women energetically saved grain, began home industries, and operated retail stores. Twentieth-century women moved into social services, adoption, and child placement. The Relief Society's maternity programs reduced the mortality of mothers and infants. By 1931 Utah ranked with five other states in the lowest group. Other medical and nursing programs were phased in and out as needed. In 1913, the sisters opened a boarding house in Salt Lake where many homeless women were lodged. The larger Church followed the Relief Society into the social service area and expanded the programs. The women were left the important tasks of guarding home morals and developing their homemaking skills.

One hundred and fifty years worth of the programs and vicissitudes of the Relief Society are captured in this long book, as is the basic spirit. Amy Brown Lyman, president from 1940 to 1945, noted that "Relief Society women have never been satisfied with mere self improvement." They "have had a feeling that life was incomplete unless through their work and themselves they were able to make a contribution toward the welfare of others" (p. 427). This statement was true of Emma Smith and her sisters and remains true today.

One of these days, someone will write a history of the Relief Society from the outside. Objective and critical, such a study will trace the steady erosion of the rights of women and the increasing oppression of the Relief Society by the priesthood which has usurped their works, leaving Mormon women limp slaves in their own kitchens. Evidence for this interpretation certainly exists. But such a book will ignore the spiritual aspiration and the loving cooperation which have characterized the organization from the beginning and which are repeatedly brought to life here. When the two books are compared, *Women of Covenant* will be the truer one.

CLAUDIA L. BUSHMAN, founding editor of *Exponent II* and editor of *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Emmeline Press, 1976), is also an enthusiastic Relief Society worker. Her most recent book is *America Discovers Columbus: How an Italian Explorer Became an American Hero* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1992), and she is currently working on Virginia agriculture.

Jennifer Moulton Hansen, editor. *Letters of Catharine Cottam Romney, Plural Wife.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992; xvii, 317 pp.; illustrations, maps, appendices, bibliography, index; $29.95.

Maria S. Ellsworth, editor. *Mormon Odyssey: The Story of Ida Hunt Udall, Plural Wife.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992; xiv, 290 pp.; illustrations, maps, appendices, genealogical charts, bibliography, index; $29.95.

Reviewed by Kimberly Jensen

In the lively interpretive give-and-take that is the lifeblood of the writing of history, scholars of the history of women, the American West, and Mormon history debate the role of women in the colonization of the Western frontier. Were women "gentle tamers," carriers of the Victorian "Cult of True Womanhood," and civilizers of land and men? Or were they isolated and oppressed? Did the frontier and colonization experience transform social roles based on gender? Did life as colonizers affect women and men differently? How did plural marriage affect the tasks, views, and roles of the Mormon women engaged in the practice?[1] These two fine collections which chronicle the experiences of two plural wives on the Arizona and Mexico frontiers provide important primary evidence for this continuing historical investigation.

The engaging collection of the *Letters of Catharine Cottam Romney, Plural Wife* presents the experiences of Romney (1855–1918) from her early womanhood in St. George, Utah, in 1873, her plural marriage that year to Miles P. Romney, the life she built for herself and her children while colonizing Arizona and Mexico, and her later years following the Mormon exodus from Mexico in 1912. We are introduced to a lonesome and "blue" eighteen-year-old in St. George who wonders if she is equal to the responsibilities as head of household while her parents and older brother are away and who confides her desires to enter plural marriage for love. We come to know her fears and successes as she builds a family in plurality in St. Johns, Arizona—a community of religious and racial conflict—in the early 1880s. Self-sacrificingly, she goes into hiding to avoid becoming the evidence of prohibited plural marriage, then matures as an enterprising farmer and storekeeper, parent, and by 1904, widow, in Colonia Juarez, Mexico. We view the Mormon exodus from Mexico in 1912 from the perspective of an aging woman in fragile health, bravely smiling through her tears as fellow passengers sing: "Are you ever burdened with a load of care? Does the cross seem heavy you are called to bear? Count your many blessings . . ."

Hansen makes the physical journey through these letters a pleasant one for the reader by her skillful placement of explanatory notes and background information that does not encumber the flow of the text. Introductory passages provide context for the four periods covered by the letters, St. George, Utah (1873); St. Johns, Arizona and life underground (1881–84); Mexico (1887–1905); and "Return Home" (1912–1917). The reader is grateful for Hansen's gentle parenthetical reminders along the way such as the ages of Romney's children as time goes by and the notation of the familial and community links of other individuals to her world.

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[1]See Elizabeth Jameson, "Women as Workers, Women as Civilizers: True Womanhood in the American West," in *The Women's West,* edited by Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson, 145–64 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); Jessie L. Embry, "Effects of Polygamy on Mormon Women," *Frontiers* 7:3 (1984): 56–61; Joan Iversen, "Feminist Implications of Mormon Polygyny," *Feminist Studies* 10 (Fall 1984): 505–22; Julie Dunfey, "'Living the Principle' of Plural Marriage: Mormon Women, Utopia, and Female Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century," ibid., 523–36.

One appendix contains helpful genealogical information on family and friends and another reprints "Wash Day" and "Make Home Beautiful," two articles from the St. John's *Orion Era* probably authored by Romney. Maps and well-chosen photographs are an integral part of the text. The photograph of Romney and her children taken in 1887, for example, was the only one ever made of her son Claude who died in Mexico soon after it was taken. As we share Romney's grief at his death through her letters we refer back again and again to that image when we learn how much it meant for her to have a photograph of her departed son.

The letters, written to parents, family members, and friends, remain the centerpiece of the text, and are rich in the intimate details of her life as well as the public events of life on the Arizona and Mexico frontiers. She recounts the violent religious and racial clashes in St. Johns among Anglos (Mormon and non-Mormon), Indians, and Mexican-Americans. We learn of the hardships of building a new community and the uncertainties of farming in Mexico. The letters are filled with reports of illnesses and their treatment, the activities of midwives Rizpah Gibbons and Sister Ramsey in St. Johns, and childbirth as a woman-centered event. Romney maintained her ties with Mormon culture and American culture by reading—newspapers from Canada, St. Louis, and Utah, the women's magazine *Farm and Fireside*, and whatever other reading material for herself and the children she could beg from her correspondents. The Mexican postal bureaucracy provided constant headaches. In 1887 she wrote to her parents that she was anxious for a tardy installment of a paper so that she could find out developments in the serialized detective story. More often provisions, money, and clothing were lost. The reader keeps hoping, with Romney, that her favorite and badly needed skirt will turn up in the mails.

Coincidentally, Catharine Cottam Romney met Ida Hunt Udall, the subject of the second volume, in St. Johns, and they were together briefly on the underground in 1884. Maria S. Ellsworth draws together Udall's memoirs, journal, letters, and yearly musings in a "birthday book" in *Mormon Odyssey: The Story of Ida Hunt Udall, Plural Wife*, for another view of plural marriage and life on the Arizona frontier. *Mormon Odyssey* is as much biography as sourcebook, for Ellsworth provides substantial interpretive passages to fill in missing years, photographs, genealogies, and explanatory notes. Ellsworth also includes sequential letters from Ida Udall's husband, David K., as he awaits trial and during his imprisonment, which lend an immediacy to Ida's journal entries and provide a vivid sense of the emotional and practical context of her words. The result is an excellent compilation that allows the reader to share the hardships and triumphs of this remarkable woman.

The experiences of Udall (1858–1915) in plural marriage provide an intimate view of the practice in one family group. Her journal opens on her wedding trip to the temple in St. George with David, his first wife, Ella, and their two-year-old daughter in 1882. Six months later when she came to live in their household in St. Johns, the makeshift bedroom that she decorated with care burned in an accident. Udall wonders "if that misfortune was typical of the life I should spend in that little room" (p. 63). Although she didn't stay in the household long, plural marriage was a rocky

road thereafter, and Udall is candid about her frustrations and struggles in her journal. She depended on her own resources for much of her life, and cared for herself and her children by farming and ranching, teaching, selling butter and cheese, acting as subscription agent for the *Woman's Home Companion* in Arizona, and, after 1908, homesteading in her own name at Hunt Valley, twenty-five miles from St. Johns, running a post office and boarding postal riders.

In many ways, Udall was isolated and denied many necessities and opportunities in her life. Her feelings of marginality are evident throughout her journal. She was moved from place to place to protect her husband. Sorrowfully, she records her disappointments in him and his lack of support. The advantages and privileges of the "first" family are an ever-present backdrop in her journal. David and Ella were a public couple as stake president and stake Relief Society President in St. Johns, while Udall rarely could claim her role as his wife. One of the most poignant of her letters to her daughter Pauline describes the warm welcome she received by Salt Lake dignitaries on a trip to Utah in 1905 after years of hardship and isolation in Arizona. She writes triumphantly of these events to "comfort" Pauline in her "lonely hard life at the ranche" and to "show that people can live that way for years and still be remembered & honored" (p. 205).

Yet Udall also had a supportive network of family and friends who sheltered her during two years on the "underground" from 1884–86 and in her life in Arizona thereafter. Her father provided financial support and later sent her a heifer each birthday to help her build up a herd at the Hunt ranch until her husband told her that they would "have to be turned in to the Udall family" (p. 210). Her children contributed labor and love to the ranch and other enterprises. Her extended family remained attentive to her feelings as well as practical needs. David was away, conducting "business as usual," on Ida's fortieth birthday in 1898; but her brothers and sisters and their spouses "wrote her a long poem naming all of the men, young and old, who had been attentive to her or had proposed marriage." Udall enjoyed the poem, Ellsworth notes, but David "was not amused" when he read it later (p. 195).

Udall's writings provide a vivid portrait of the rhythms of life on the Arizona frontier. She discusses the religious and racial tensions of St. Johns, the uncertainties of floods and crop and livestock failures, and we learn of her cultural and educational aspirations for herself and her children. Again we meet midwives Ramsey and Gibbons, and also encounter Mormon Apostle Francis M. Lyman as a rather fearsome traveling dentist who twice dislocated Udall's jaw. We read the poems and letters from female friends who wish to cheer and support her, and learn of the comings and goings of a community that contributed much to the building of the Mormon Church in the West.

These two collections are important and moving chronicles of the lives of two women in plural marriage and on the Western frontier. In Romney's letters it is in the details of visits and community news that the reader learns about the practical aspects of life in plural marriage. The families of Romney and co-wives Hannah Hood Hill Romney and Annie Maria Woodbury Romney seem to have lived in relative

harmony, and Romney does not editorialize about the practice in the letters. Ida Hunt Udall wrote openly of her disappointments, and her life was shaped by the realities of the difficult nature of her family circumstances. Each will contribute in important ways to the ongoing study of the practice of plural marriage, and the experiences of men and women colonizing the Western frontier.

KIMBERLY JENSEN, an instructor at Grinnell College, Iowa, was awarded the Ph.D. degree from the University of Iowa in 1992. Her M.A. thesis at Brigham Young University (1981) was "Between Two Fires: Women on the 'Underground' of Mormon Polygamy."

Richard P. Howard. *The Church Through the Years, Volume 1: RLDS Beginnings, to 1860.* Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1992; 402 pp.; introduction, maps, notes, selected readings in church history, index; $27.50 cloth. 0–83090–556–1

Reviewed by Roger D. Launius

The Church Through the Years is both more and less than what had been intended when the project was first conceived. It is *more* than a narrative chronological treatment of church history, since it applies serious historical analysis to major themes in the development of the movement, deals reasonably well with a myriad collection of difficult issues, and tries to reconcile faith and history for a lay audience of RLDS members. It is *less* for the reason that it is disjointed, uneven, in some places simplistic in interpretation, in its own way creates some new myths, and may not be altogether convincing to serious students of Mormon history.

There is much to praise in this book, however, and I want to give *The Church Through the Years* its due in explaining the development of the institution to a lay audience. Two persistent themes in Howard's historical work for more than twenty-five years have been philosophy of history and reinterpretation of earlier popular conceptions of historical truth. He explicitly deals with both themes here. As a philosopher of history Howard has served for a generation as the Carl Becker of the Reorganization, arguing over what constitutes historical facts, drawing out viewpoint and perspective as central points in historical interpretation, and moving beyond dogmatic equations of scientific history as "the truth" in favor of history as art. Howard has gently expanded the range of interpretive options available by pioneering alternative perspectives of historical understanding for the Reorganization's rank-and-file membership over a long period and has helped to make the "new Mormon history" palatable to the faithful. That has been an important legacy, and a whole generation of RLDS historians following in the footsteps of Howard and his colleagues have published their research, freed from an earlier generation's obligation of special pleading.

Howard takes an essay approach, but one that is wedded to an overly strong chronological framework. His first three chapters explicitly raise issues of philosophy

of history and seek to reorient readers from the pro-Reorganization argumentation that had characterized most earlier efforts to write RLDS Church history. The theme also emerges at other points in the text, serving a valuable purpose in laying the groundwork for nonscholars.

The remainder are chronological chapters that he explicitly says reinterpret the history of the early Church. To his credit, he does not shy away from ticklish issues in early Mormon history. The best example is the RLDS bugaboo over the origins of Mormon polygamy. The Reorganization constructed over a period of many years in the latter nineteenth century an interpretation of polygamy's origins that denied the involvement of Joseph Smith, Jr. Howard rejects that earlier interpretation and places polygamy's development in the context of concern for the afterlife and the rise of temple rituals in Nauvoo, in the process assigning Smith responsibility for the practice. While Howard takes a decidedly conservative approach here (many sources place the origins much earlier than Nauvoo and assign other motivations), he deals with the theme candidly. Howard originally offered his analysis in a 1983 *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* article which received bitter and unjustified censure from many RLDS members. Sadly, RLDS leaders who had been aware of his efforts, and some of whom had read drafts of his manuscript, refused to stand behind him and allowed what amounted to character assassination. The First Presidency even issued a statement saying, in essence, that Howard's conclusions were his own and that he did not speak for the institution. Now, a decade later, I expect a more seasoned reaction.

Howard also tackles other difficult areas. He suggests that the Book of Mormon has a relationship with nineteenth-century secular and sectarian concerns (pp. 120–23) and that Mormon temple rituals began to appear in Kirtland with the washing of feet and associated ceremonies (pp. 238–40).

Yet it is Howard's all-too-often unfulfilled promise to reinterpret Mormon history that creates my most serious disappointment with *The Church Through the Years*. For example, he introduces his Kirtland chapter by suggesting that the RLDS interpretation of Kirtland as a prototype of "moderate Mormonism," and therefore the model for the Reorganization, is an idealized image that deserves sustained examination. Howard notes, "RLDS 'defenders of the faith' have too long portrayed the Kirtland Saints of the 1830s as 'larger than life.' The time has come to relieve ourselves and our ancestors of such an unfair burden. The task is neither more nor less than trying to discern something of Kirtland's truth" (p. 204). Howard is certainly right, and I therefore expected a broad reinterpretation of Kirtland. Instead, his discussion does not go much beyond Max Parkin's excellent article on Kirtland that appeared in *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History* (Lawrence, Kans.: Coronado Press, 1973) and the more recent analysis in Milton V. Backman, Jr.'s *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830–1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983).

Examples abound demonstrating this unfulfilled commitment. Much of the information on the development of the scriptural record that Howard includes in

the Kirtland chapter, for instance, is drawn from his pathbreaking study, *Restoration Scriptures: A Study of Their Textual Development* (Independence: Herald House, 1969), and other research published more than a decade ago. His discussion of the Book of Abraham and the position of blacks in the church is likewise not particularly revisionistic of the accepted interpretation on the subject, and fails to acknowledge much of the work that has been done recently by such scholars as Armand L. Mauss, Lester E. Bush, Jr., and Newell G. Bringhurst. Howard's discussion of the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company, moreover, is simplistic and apologetic. Consisting of only two paragraphs, this section fails to explain satisfactorily the Kirtland economy and the need for a bank, omits details of the effort to charter and run the bank, assigns responsibility for the bank failure solely to the Panic of 1837 with no more than a sentence's worth of discussion, and passes off the negative reaction to the bank with a simple "Because Joseph was instrumental in the venture, he and other church leaders received severe criticism for the bank's demise" (pp. 223–24).

The pledge to reinterpret Kirtland failed. As a historian, I am disappointed that Howard did not move beyond these well-explored themes to take up such needed topics as theological developments in Ohio, or the social, political, or economic history of the Kirtland episode. He might have raised new questions about how power and influence operated in the early church or investigated themes of class, ethnicity, and gender that have been emphasized in the new social history. In the end, Howard, while honest in his appraisals and meticulous in his research, offered such cautious reinterpretations that they seem barely to be reinterpretations at all.

Much of the unfulfilled promise of this work can be understood by reviewing how it came to be written. *The Church Through the Years* had been originally intended to replace the standard one-volume history of the Reorganized Church, Inez Smith Davis's *Story of the Church,* which first appeared in 1934. While an internal "best seller" that had gone through twelve editions by 1985, this book was also poorly documented, simplistically developed, and conspicuously faith-promoting; all too often it sacrificed real understanding in favor of a good (and decidedly favorable) story. It had been recognized as an embarrassment as a historical work at least since the latter 1960s, but there was nothing better available so it remained in print. *The Story of the Church* was the book from which I and many others first learned RLDS history; and after realizing its problems it became, at least for me, a book to be condemned for stunting the intellectual development of more than two generations of Reorganization members when they accepted its "story" at face value.

For a variety of reasons, many of them political, no one took action to replace *The Story of the Church* until Howard, in his capacity as official RLDS Church Historian, began planning for the sesquicentennial anniversary of the organization in 1980. In 1976 the Church began a drive to prepare a new one-volume narrative history and commissioned Alma R. Blair at Graceland College to write it. At one point, there was also some discussion of a second volume of key documents to accompany the narrative. The plan, unfortunately, ran aground, and the Reorganized Church celebrated its sesquicentennial without a new history. The need for a new

one-volume history based on modern research and employing recent interpretive trends did not go away at the end of the sesquicentennial, however; and in late 1982 the First Presidency asked Howard to fill the need. He has worked on it since then but soon decided that he did not want to produce the synthesis asked for, opting for a set of essays on the history of the church rather than a narrative (pp. 10–11). In the process the size of the book also grew, so that it is now projected to be two volumes, the second scheduled to appear early in 1993. Since a one-volume narrative was still needed to replace Davis, the First Presidency directed Paul M. Edwards to write *Our Legacy of Faith: A Brief History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Independence: Herald House, 1991) to fill the gap.

The roots of *The Church Through the Years,* resting as they did in the need to write a one-volume narrative history of the RLDS, led Howard to take a firmly chronological approach. It also prompted him to cover RLDS history in something of a textbookish manner. The result, to use the Kirtland chapter as an example once again, was a discussion of many small areas tied to the specifics of time and place without the benefit of larger context and overall meaning. He might have been more successful if he had written sustained essays on such major themes as, for instance, temporal innovation, in which communalism, stewardship, the Order of Enoch, and tithing, all of which appear periodically throughout the book, could be examined together. Such an endeavor has been Howard's forte for many years, and I regret its abandonment in this history, since it might have yielded valuable insights.

There are other problems with *The Church Through the Years,* but they are secondary to this larger criticism. He rejects as without foundation the depositions of Palmyra residents on the Smith family's character in contrast to an important reinterpretation of their origins and validity offered in Rodger I. Anderson's *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), which is not even cited in the book. I expected more complete citations in the notes and bibliography. For example, Kenneth H. Winn's important *Exiles in a Land of Liberty: Mormons in America, 1830–1846* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989) is not in the bibliography. Finally the index has curious inadequacies. "Tom"—not Thomas G.—Alexander appears, but the reference is in the acknowledgements list, and others similarly acknowledged are not indexed. William Law, a significant figure in the Nauvoo chapter, is not indexed; Sidney Rigdon's crucial July 4th oration (pp. 264–66), is also omitted from his index entry.

The Church Through the Years is an attempt to explore the complexities of RLDS history for a lay audience. While it will probably become a standard work on the subject, it is not the definitive treatment that had been anticipated for so long. In the end, I would prefer to remember Richard Howard for his noble perseverance against the myths of the RLDS and for his compassionate yet demanding and provocative articles rather than for this book.

ROGER D. LAUNIUS, Chief Historian of NASA, is the author of *Zion's Camp: Expedition to Missouri, 1834* (Independence: Herald House, 1984), and of two prize-winning biographies of

Joseph Smith III: *Joseph Smith III: Pragmatic Prophet* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988) and *Father Figure: Joseph Smith III and the Creation of the Reorganized Church* (Independence: Herald House, 1990).

Robert T. Handy. *Undermined Establishment: Church-State Relations in America 1880–1920.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991; x, 204 pp.; index; $29.95. 0–69107–385–6

Stephen Cresswell. *Mormons & Cowboys, Moonshiners & Klansmen: Federal Law Enforcement in the South and West, 1870–1893.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991; 336 pp., index, photographs, charts; $35.95. 0–81730–530–0

Reviewed by Ken Driggs

Mormon historians can be criticized for our focus on our own narrow experience without adequate attention to how we fit into broader history. We need to ask broader questions. Just how does the Mormon experience fit into the larger national mosaic? Is the Mormon experience unique? We often consider the persecutions of Mormons in the last century to be unmatched in American history, but were they really?

The reasons for national hostility toward Mormons were much wider than polygamy. By the Utah period, friction came because of a national perception of disloyalty toward the government on the part of Mormons; because of their seemingly undemocratic obedience to a man they called a modern-day prophet, which certainly struck mainstream Protestants as heresy and linked them to Catholics and their equally alien pope; because of the many poor, foreign-born converts in their ranks, some not fluent in English; because of their resistance to free-wheeling domestic capitalism, their opposition to mining, and their centrally directed cooperative economy; their relatively enlightened attitudes toward Native Americans; their secret religious rituals; and only then polygamy. This environment was perfect for the breeding of rumors about marauding Danite bands, alliances with Native Americans to exterminate gentiles, virtual white slavery among women, and an organized desire to overthrow the national government's hold over western territories. Isolated events like the Mountain Meadows Massacre confirmed even the most extreme rumors in the public mind. The publication of books and magazine and newspaper articles about the horrors of the Great Basin became an industry by itself.

Both these books provide interesting examinations of these subjects. Both place the Mormon experience on the broader historical landscape—suggesting that some aspects of our experience truly are unique, while others were much more common—and look at the Mormon experience as one aspect of America's legal history. Between the two they also consider the nation's religious history, Mormonism as an issue in the nation's politics, and how the inward migration of Mormon converts compared with the larger history of immigration to North America.

Handy is Henry Sloane Coffin Professor Emeritus of Church History at Union Theological Seminary in New York. His *Undermined Establishment* describes a social and religious evolution which moved the country from dominance by a mainstream Protestant establishment in 1880 to a more tolerant, pluralistic religious culture by 1920. In 1880 the Protestant consensus he describes was so complete that government often adopted and advanced the goals and standing of this limited group of churches. The United States was seen as a Christian nation, and this was understood to mean a mainstream Protestant nation. The leading denominations were Baptist, Congregational, Disciples of Christ, Episcopal, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Quaker and Reformed, with an estimated membership of 9 million, or about 18 percent of the population. Their influence was considerably wider than their numbers. Meanwhile, Mormons, Catholics, fundamentalist Christians, Jews, and others who fell outside the self-defined center were viewed as threats to the national order and therefore not entitled to the supposed protection of the First Amendment. Social order, as defined in part by the self-interested Protestant center, was seen as a greater blessing than religious pluralism.

The predominant denominations were separate from the state; but to the extent that there was agreement on a broad Protestant agenda, government was often enlisted to advance it. Part of their shared values included anti-Catholic, anti-semitic, nativist, imperialist impulses that translated into the persecution of Mormons, who were suspected for many of the same reasons as Catholics. Handy links the anti-Mormon and anti-Catholic campaigns of the era through their substantial similarities in causes and results.

Like Catholics, Mormons preferred church-run schools and resisted public education which the Protestant center saw as essential to Americanizing the immigrant. Catholic loyalty toward their beleaguered parochial schools, to the point of excommunicating some parents who enrolled their children in public schools, was a major source of conflict. The Protestants saw church schools as perpetuating the sinister and dangerous while public education would "socially cleanse" children. While Handy does not point it out in his text, Mormons represented a parallel case. Part of the Utah public schools effort was motivated by the desire to save children from a loathsome social fate, a topic ripe for some future scholar.

As Handy describes it, in 1880 appropriate Christian service urged by churches was thought to be charitable acts by individuals and congregations directed toward the poor and the unchurched. Protestant missionary efforts in Utah Territory were an example. Handy writes that, with the 1890s, a new doctrine of social gospel held that government should improve the environments of the disadvantaged. Resulting crusades included temperance, christianizing Native Americans, ending polygamy, prison reform, juvenile courts, and child labor laws. These innovations later became the progressive political agenda embraced by presidents Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson. Religious conservatives did not always agree with this new orientation and Christian fundamentalism had its beginnings in turn of the century reactions. This fundamentalism went largely unnoticed by the

mainstream until it burst forth in the 1920s as final proof that Protestant solidarity was dead.

During the 1880s and 1890s immigration brought thousands of Catholics into the country, who organized to resist the legal and political pressures of the Protestant center. They were more successful than the Mormons, no doubt partially because Catholic uniqueness was less threatening to the center than Mormon uniqueness. Immigration from Eastern Europe also brought thousands of ethnic Jews to the country who resisted the anti-semitism of the Protestant center. Such increased social diversity began to erode the authority of the Protestant center.

The highwater mark of religious cooperation came with concern over the moral and social welfare of American troops during World War I shared by mainstream Protestants, Catholics and Jews. But peace brought an abrupt end to this cooperation, Christian fundamentalism openly challenged the mainstream, and the era of distance between the state and churches began.

Handy's book is full of interesting information. Little of it discusses the LDS Church directly—only seven pages and a few other scattered references—but all of it adds understanding to the Mormon circumstance of the period. He draws exclusively from institutional sources, however, and one wonders how this might differ from the thoughts of the ordinary citizen.

Mormons and Moonshiners is easier reading for historians and casual readers alike. Cresswell, Assistant Professor of History at West Virginia Wesleyan College, draws primarily from government sources to describe the effort of federal law enforcement, successful and unsuccessful, in four representative jurisdictions: northern Mississippi (civil rights for African Americans and the suppression of Ku Klux Klan activities during reconstruction), eastern Tennessee (federal efforts to suppress moonshining); Arizona Territory (pre-statehood peacemaking and regulation of federal land), and Utah Territory (suppressing polygamy and breaking Mormon dominance from 1850 to 1896). The book is limited to the 1870–93 period in all instances except for Utah and Arizona territories, where the author briefly discusses developments as late as Arizona statehood in 1912. Cresswell's bibliography lists some familiar Utah and LDS sources but they are minimally reflected in the text.

The author's viewpoint is that of the government. He never questions whether the goals of United States attorneys were right or whether their means were proper. In each case study, federal prosecutors controlled by powerful national forces came into sharp conflict with locally powerful regional forces. As Cresswell summarizes, the Mormon "problem" was that "Utah was devoid of public nonsectarian schools; Utah had a wholly Mormon militia, intimately connected with the church; and the economic life of the territory was collectivist, directed by Mormon authorities" (p. 80). However, federal officials had an "invariable tendency to underestimate the tenacity of the Mormon church and the loyalty of polygamous Mormons to their plural families" (p. 123). They were also handicapped by severe federal underfunding and saw themselves as battling the wealthy Mormon institutional giant, according to Professor Cresswell.

In his final chapter, Cresswell summarizes where federal power succeeded or failed calling Utah Territory "the clearest case of success" (p. 249), largely because the United States Army backed up federal officials, anti-polygamy campaigns were nationally popular, and Congress supplied special weapons. "In Utah, when simple prosecutions did not work Congress passed increasingly harsh laws, thus giving the U.S. attorneys and marshals the weapons they needed to fight the Mormons. Justices of the Supreme Court gave their aid as well, in several important decisions. If Mormon jurors would not convict, they would be barred from juries in cohabitation trials. If the church leadership showed no signs of weakening, the government would disincorporate the church and seize its property. If local government were sympathetic to the church, Congress would appoint a commission to reorganize political participation in the territory, disfranchising first polygamists and later preparing to disfranchise all church members. These draconian federal policies led to a successful Justice Department enforcement program" (pp. 259–60). Despite his unquestioning acceptance of the federal attitude, Cresswell thus describes the federal government as an occupying foreign power, recognizing that this kind of federal muscle could not have been used in Tennessee and Mississippi—states, not territories.

Both books make worthy additions to understanding the Mormon experience in the American context and will expose the reader to material he or she is not likely to have encountered in the usual Mormon historical circles. I strongly recommend both.

KEN DRIGGS is a criminal defense lawyer in Tallahassee, Florida. He holds an LL.M. in Legal History from the University of Wisconsin Law School where his thesis topic was a history of Utah Supreme Court decisions on the parental rights of fundamentalist Mormons. He has published a number of articles on the legal aspects of Mormon and fundamentalist Mormon history.

B. Carmon Hardy. *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992; xxiv, 445 pp., illustrations, index; $34.95. 0–25201–833–8

Reviewed by Martha Sonntag Bradley

Before the Manifesto it seemed implausible that the Saints would ever relinquish the doctrine of plural marriage. This position was so unwaveringly maintained by the Mormons that a writer identified only as "Old Timer" boldly speculated in the *Deseret News* on 14 April 1885:

> The abandonment of polygamy, that is considered by some to be so easy of accomplishment, is more untenable even than fighting. However much the people might desire to do this, they could not without yielding every other principle, for it is the very key stone of our faith, and is so closely interwoven into everything that pertains to our religion, that to tear it asunder and cast it away would involve the entire structure.

The status which "Old Timer" assigns to polygamy is the thesis of Carmon Hardy's important new book, *Solemn Covenant.* Polygamy was, in a way forgotten by successive generations, absolutely central to the nineteenth-century church. It set the boundary between those inside the faith and those outside and became the signature by which the Mormons were known. It pitted the Mormons against their neighbors in Nauvoo and in the Great Basin and created Mormonism as a counter-culture. It was the single most important doctrine/practice in identifying and emphasizing the separateness, the distinctiveness of the Mormon people.

Hardy sees polygamy as the key to understanding the Church during what he calls the "polygamous passage," a period between the initial private introduction of the principle in the 1830s and some time in the first decade of the twentieth century when the Church had wrenched itself free of the religious and social implications of the practice and reshaped Mormonism's domestic ideal. It is only, Hardy suggests, when we recognize the centrality of polygamy that we can "explain either gentile hostility aroused against it or Mormon reluctance to give it up." Thus, as Hardy acknowledges, his work "stands at odds with those who emphasize consensus as the controlling paradigm in nineteenth-century Mormon history" (p. xxi).

Solemn Covenant will assuredly assume a prominent position in the growing corpus of polygamy literature. Hardy's expansive knowledge of world literature on polygamy, Victorian sexuality, and nineteenth-century social and cultural life places the drama of the disentanglement of the church from plurality in a rich historiographical context. And perhaps this is the book's most significant contribution. It is a potent reminder that much of Mormon thought was inherited from its environment; as Hardy so astutely says, "Mormonism's theocratic cell had permeable walls" (p. 104).

The first three chapters trace the history of polygamy and the corresponding theological/sociological structure that grew up around its practice. Mormons justified their beliefs scripturally, with hygienic and eugenics arguments, and with an all-out attack on the Victorian ideal of the monogamous home, claiming that monogamy led to perversion, prostitution, and unnatural sexual appetite. The Manifesto, he defines in chapter 4, as a "tactical retreat," then five chapters detail post-Manifesto polygamy, efforts to continue it, and the circle of deception that kept turning new corners: first lying to the outside world, then lying to the members, then lying within the Quorum of the Twelve. He tells this story compassionately but clearly, ending with "Monogamous Triumph" in chapter 10: "As with communitarian economics, which, although doctrinally respected, slumbers in incubation, plural marriage is coated with the chrysalis of a spiritual ideal and laid away for rebirth in a world beyond time" (p. 349).

I found particularly valuable Hardy's forthright treatment of topics left unexamined by other scholars of polygamy—sexuality and the morality of "Lying for the Lord." This last-named essay probes the disquieting question of the Mormon willingness to ignore the laws of the land for what they considered the good of the Lord and their continually redefining honesty against loyalty. I have long been

troubled by similar questions, since an insider's loyalty can frequently look like simple political expedience to an outsider, and welcomed this essay's inclusion in this volume but wondered at its odd placement as an appendix—as though it were an afterthought rather than a central thread in the narrative development of Mormonism's crescendoing tensions over its peculiar domestic arrangements.

Likewise, I have long marveled at the relative lack of scrutiny— or even curiosity—of the role of sexuality in previous studies of polygamy. Because of the Mormon emphasis on the reproductive potential of the plural union and the gentile emphasis on the lasciviousness of the polygamous male, plurality was, at least rhetorically, about sexuality. Our study of the nineteenth century has conspicuously ignored the sexual implications of polygamy for its opponents and the Mormons themselves. Hardy's chapter 3, "Blessings of the Abrahamic Household," is an important beginning, but it fails to account for the female willingness to acquiesce to a system which denied them actual and physical power. While arguments about polygamy's potential for removing the social ills of prostitution and debauchery are familiar stock in the mythic retelling of nineteenth-century Mormon social life, Hardy also introduces the reader to Mormon arguments about other anticipated benefits of the polygamous lifestyle which suggested that male sexual prowess was not just an antidote for social ills but a "redirection of maleness, virility extended beyond normal limits." Hardy suggests that Mormons were influenced, in their affirmations of extraordinary and long-term extension of vigorous sexual activity, by Victorian writers like E. N. Jencks and Dr. George Napheys.

Plurality empowered men and stimulated heightened intellectual and physical potency. This generation of "kingdom builders" saw polygamy as not only producing larger families of Saints but also power yet unchannelled for the work of the Lord. One polygamist wrote to a monogamous friend: "I wish you were a polyomist there is Something immensely Godlike in it it increases the powers of the mind, [and] brings forth inbolden relief all the powers of the human Soul." Hardy's research clearly establishes that plural marriage intensified the male orientation of Mormon concepts about godhood, priesthood, patriarchal organization, and family.

The painful process begun by the Manifesto is drawn in *Solemn Covenant* as a design complicated by discontent with Wilford Woodruff's leadership, confusion over the language and implications of the document, and a prevailing millennialism which replaced realistic political appraisal with the expectation of dramatic divine intervention. Hardy sympathetically describes the private costs of Church leaders's decisions to either comply with the document or work around it. The book's strongest sections are the two chapters describing the post-Manifesto period and how each apostle reorganized his family and reconceptualized his relationship to the church and the doctrine. Although many members were drifting, confused about how to redefine their relationships and their theology, polygamy showed incredible resiliency during this period of partial repudiation and withdrawal. Annie Clark Tanner, a woman personally hurt by the practice, related her husband's confusion when polygamy, "the 'capstone' of the Gospel" was taken away. "The faithful," she said, "were going, for a time, in both directions."

Much of this history in *Solemn Covenant* is familiar to students of plural marriage. Nevertheless, this is not just another study of polygamy. Because of Hardy's unique and oftentimes courageous vision and his familiarity with contemporary literature, it is a rich and intriguing study, setting a new standard of thoughtful analysis that other studies must match.

MARTHA SONNTAG BRADLEY, assistant professor of history at Brigham Young University, is co-editor of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought.*

Guide to Archives and Manuscript Collections in Selected Utah Repositories: A Machine-Readable Edition. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1991; FOLIO Infobase RUNTIME 2.0 program on computer diskettes (5.25" or 3.5") and instruction sheets; $25.00.

Reviewed by Susan L. Fales

In 1988 the Utah State Historical Society and the Utah State Archives jointly began surveying Utah historical records repositories for archive and manuscript materials, converting their records to machine readable form, and entering these records on the Research Library Information Network database (RLIN), an international network with a manuscript cataloging module. This project, funded by the U.S. National Historical Publications and Records Commission, makes bibliographic information on 12,440 records from 10 repositories available to the public on an inexpensive self-contained database (7 megabytes), designed for an IBM compatible personal computer. Jeff Johnson, State Archivist, and Max Evans, Director of the Utah State Historical Society, with the assistance of an Advisory Board from the major repositories in the state, organized, developed, and provided oversight for the project.

Bibliographic records from archives and manuscript collections are included from two public libraries (American Fork and Springville), three special libraries (Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum in Salt Lake City, Utah State Archives, and the Utah State Historical Society), and five universities (Brigham Young, Southern Utah, University of Utah, Utah State, and Weber State).

Among the institutions, bibliographic coverage is uneven, primarily, I am told, because of the cost and time involved in converting cataloged collections to machine readable form and because of inadequate bibliographical descriptions. Many of the ninety public libraries do not have manuscript materials, but it is important to survey each library and include all manuscripts in the subsequent coverage. There is relatively good coverage of the special libraries, except for the DUP's rich and important Utah pioneer heritage collection; only the collections microfilmed and processed by the Mormon Church and, hence, those with standard bibliographic descriptions, are represented. Virtually all of the Utah State Historical Society collections are included except for the as-yet-unprocessed map collection. The Utah State Archives

section is excellent for most of its local government records but not for state records; most of them are not yet available in machine-readable form. Most of these helpful surveys of coverage are included in the documentation.

Most of the manuscript collections at Utah State, Southern Utah, and Weber State are included, along with 77 percent of the University of Utah's, but, disappointingly, only about 30 percent of Brigham Young University's—the percentage already cataloged on the RLIN system when the *Utah Guide* was compiled. Promisingly, a proposed second phase or edition should close all or most of these gaps.

Even researchers with limited computer experience will have no difficulty loading the diskettes onto their PC. The process, following a single page of instructions, takes under twenty minutes. The *Utah Guide* is then completely ready for searching, and subsequently printing or downloading the entries on a given topic.

Searching the database is also not particularly difficult, even if a researcher has never used any Folio or Infobase programs. Researchers can type in a topic or a person's name, either as one word or several. Each of the 12,440 records includes author, title, physical description (i.e., 47 volumes or 15 reels of microfilm), a summary of the collection, finding aids, location of the repository, Library of Congress subject headings, added entries (such as secondary authors both personal and corporate), call number, and the RLIN ID number.

The first edition of *Utah Guide* certainly exceeds my expectations with the inclusion of so many records. Archives and manuscripts have only recently begun cataloging in machine-readable form, which makes the over 12,000 records particularly impressive. To my knowledge this inexpensive and readily available PC database is a pioneering effort in the nation and certainly in the region.

There are, however, areas which need some work. The most glaring gap in the database—particularly conspicuous in a catalog of Utah sources—is the omission of the LDS Historical Department and the Family History Library collections. Although these collections no doubt pose special technical challenges, researchers everywhere will eagerly welcome their addition to a second edition. It is to be hoped that the compilers at the Utah State Historical Society and the Utah State Archives will make every effort to include the holdings of the LDS Historical Department and the Utah and Mormon manuscript portions of the Family History Library.

Second, the Folio program itself, while excellent, does have two problems which are more than annoying. For the beginner, nowhere do the on-screen commands reveal, as they do for many other functions, that the SPACE BAR is the key to searching. Also, and more serious, it is impossible to mark individual, nonconsecutive records for either printing or downloading, even though it is possible to BLOCK consecutive groups of records by striking "CTRL B."

Third, I would urge the compilers to rework their introductory material giving more guidance to the researcher in search strategy. I discovered proximity searching and truncation only by reading a manual which comes with the purchase of the Infobase Company Folio Views program. The purchaser of the *Utah Guide* receives

a Runtime 2.0 version of the Folio program which permits searching only but not the creation of databases.[1]

Proximity searching—searching two or more words together—is an extremely useful tool. For example, searching Rich, Charles locates all of the entries with Charles Rich, plus many entries which have Charles combined with another name or Rich County. The proximity search command (placing the name in quotes: "Rich, Charles") eliminates all the extraneous material.

The ability to truncate words and expand a search is an important searching technique. For example a researcher interested in Mormon ties to England could search England by itself and obtain 313 records or the words England Mormon and get 120 entries or England Mormon* (the symbol for truncating a word) and receive 212 documents. Using the "*" told the computer to search for the word Mormon, Mormons or Mormonism.

The Society and Archives have generously allowed free copying of the diskettes in order "to promote a wide distribution of the infobase." (p. 2) I would also suggest that each purchaser receive a registration card to be returned to the Utah State Historical Society so he or she can receive program update information.

It is increasingly important for historians to have speedier and easier access to the basic staple of their discipline—manuscripts. The first phase of the *Utah Guide* is a good beginning; fortunately, the projected second phase will fill in many of the bibliographical holes noted above. I would encourage anyone who has an interest in Utah and Mormon research and 7 megabytes of hard disk space on their PC to purchase this product by writing to the Utah State Historical Society, 300 Rio Grande, Salt Lake City, Utah 84101–1182 or by calling (801) 533–5755. Simply specify the diskettes needed, either a 5.25" or 3.5" double-or high-density.

SUSAN L. FALES, History Librarian and Collection Development Coordinator, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, is the co-author, with Chad J. Flake, of *Mormons and Mormonism in U. S. Government Documents: A Bibliography* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989).

S. George Ellsworth, editor. ***The Journals of Addison Pratt: Being a Narrative of Yankee Whaling in the Eighteen Twenties, A Mormon Mission to the Society Islands, and of Early California and Utah in the Eighteen Forties and Fifties.*** Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990; xxiv, 606 pp.; illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index; $25.00. 0–87480–335–7

S. George Ellsworth has, with his edition of Addison Pratt's journals, made a fine contribution to Mormon history, well meriting the prize awarded it by the Mormon History Association.

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[1]I have subsequently received a two-page search guide which is now sent to purchasers of the *Utah Guide*. It resolves some of the search questions a beginner might have and gives instructions on truncation but not proximity searching.

The book has been praised for its clarifying notes, maps, and historical context, its three-part scope (American whaling, the gold rush, and Mormon history), and Pratt's ground-breaking missionary efforts: His 1843–52 Polynesian mission was "the first foreign-language mission" and his "Tahitian-language school in Salt Lake City in 1848–49 was the Church's first language-training center for missionaries."[1]

The gold rush was, of course, significant. So was whaling. But this book will not change many, if any, conclusions in those well-worked fields. Its significance lies in its contribution to Mormon mission history. Pratt's descriptions of life in the South Pacific are instructive not only to the historian, but also to the anthropologist or general student of the Pacific. Did space permit, I could quote interesting passages about sailing, whaling, preaching, language study, hunting, Polynesian marriage customs, funerals, wars, cannibalism, evangelical competition with the London Missionary Society, tropical foods and plants, pearl shell diving, fishing, construction of native sailing craft, housing styles, war between the French and the local people, baptisms of hundreds and finally thousands of Polynesians.

But the journal also reveals Pratt as an individual suffering moments of discouragement and loneliness, even of near despair, along with more cheerful passages. He remembered the birthdays of his wife and four daughters with poignant entries. On 10 November 1845, he penned: "This is my wife's birthday. My Dearest Earthly Friend! Could I but know your situation this day!! What a burden it would remove from my mind. How little did I think when I was parting with you and our dear children upon the banks of the Mississippi, that after I left my native country two long years must roll away and not one word from you. And the reports I hear respecting the troubles and afflictions that are heaped upon the church by mobs and marauders causes my heart to ache, and you I expect are in their midst" (p. 251).

Ellsworth has set a standard for all who would work with personal journals, beginning with the creativity of his presentation. It was by no means automatic that he would decide to combine three kinds of materials: memoirs, editorial essays and notes, and journal entries. But the combination provides a cohesive, readable package.

Part 1, "The Whale's Way: Memoirs of a Young Man at Sea," is a memoir written in Tahiti in 1850, describing Pratt's (1802–72) early years on his father's farm in Massachusetts, his thirst for the sea, and, of special interest, his memories of Oahu after leaving an unhappy situation on a whaling vessel. His vividly remembered months in Honolulu led to his mission call to the Pacific in 1843 and also to crisp and useful comparisons with the culture and natural life of Tubuai when he arrived there.

Ellsworth's first essay fills in the years from 1829 to 1843, an important period

[1]Bruce A. Van Orden, [review] *BYU Studies* 31 (Spring 1991): 181–83. See also these reviews: Harold D. Langley, *Journal of the Early Republic* 11 (Summer 1991): 282–83; Harwood P. Hinton, *The Western Historical Quarterly* 22 (May 1991): 228–29; Kenneth W. Baldridge, *Pacific Historical Review* 60 (February 1991): 104–5.

during which Pratt met and married Louisa Barnes, converted to Mormonism, gathered with the Church at Nauvoo, and received his 1843 call.

Part 2, "Down to the Sea Again: The Journal of a Mormon Mission to the Society Islands, 1843–1852," consists primarily of Pratt's journals, covering only nine years of a seventy-year life but comprising nearly two-thirds of the pages. This is good; they are the most important part. Included are his voyage aboard the *Timoleon* from New Bedford to Tubuai and his labors there (1843–45); his move to Tahiti and then the Tuamotus (1845–46); his lengthy journey back to the Salt Lake Valley, where he was reunited with his family for a year (1846–49); his return to Tahiti and Tubuai (1849–50), where his wife and family joined him (1850–52), and the forced closing of the mission by the French government.

Part 3: "Home From the Sea," Ellsworth's closing essay, covers 1852 to 1872. Louisa Pratt insisted on living in Utah, and Addison spent most of these years with his daughters in southern California.

Notes clarifying context at the beginning of chapters or in the body are very helpful. For example, the reader would be in the dark without his information about Pratt's companion, B. F. Grouard's, missionary activities in the Tuamotu Archipelago:

> Benjamin F. Grouard's missionary enterprise to the Tuamotu Archipelago was one of the more remarkable achievements of Christian and Mormon evangelism. To the east of the Society Islands are the low-lying, narrow atolls and reef islands of the Tuamotu Archipelago, which stretch across almost a thousand miles of water. Soil is sparse and thin, and it supports little other than coconut palm. But the shallow lagoons, fed outside water through breaks in the reefs, harbor multitudes of fish. A bare subsistence living is possible on coconut, fish, and hogs. (pp. 254–56)

Such notations contribute much to the book's cohesiveness.

For those interested in LDS Pacific history, Pratt's *Journals* provide an elucidating foundation. When doing primary research, one must begin here. If you have been intending to read Pratt's *Journals* (maybe you bought the book, but just didn't get around to it), it's time to read it. *The Journals of Addison Pratt* is an informative pleasure from end to end.

R. LANIER BRITSCH, Professor of History and Director of the David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies at Brigham Young University, is the author of *Unto the Islands of the Sea: A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1986).

"Come, Let Us Rejoice" (the Relief Society Sesquicentennial Exhibition at the Museum of Church History and Art, Salt Lake City), March 1992–February 1993.

Reviewed by Marjorie Newton

Visiting the Relief Society Sesquicentennial exhibit at the Museum of Church History and Art was a thought-provoking experience for this "colonial" from the outer fringes

of the Mormon empire. The exhibition is stunning in its breadth and quality, and those who designed and mounted it are to be congratulated. It is an exciting and beautiful record of the Relief Society for its sesquicentennial year, remarkable for what it tells us about the great ideals and accomplishments of the past. But despite its best efforts, it is less convincing in portraying a heroic image of the present.

The exhibit is organised around six themes: faith in Christ, nurturing, compassion, sisterhood, community betterment, and developing gifts and talents. As a historian, I was not completely satisfied with this arrangement, since it simply juxtaposes the past and present but does not necessarily show development and progress.

More seriously, I believe the exhibit involuntarily though painfully highlights concerns shared by many contemporary LDS women about the relevance of Relief Society. One of my daughters observed a few months ago that to her generation Relief Society is just another Sunday meeting to be sat through. She is very aware of the vital place it holds—or rather held—in my life and in the lives of her grandmother and her great-grandmother (a pioneer Relief Society president in Australia in the 1930s). But my daughter, a single professional woman in a big city ward, whose members are scattered across some twenty suburbs, has not experienced the ideal caring and bonding relationships that obviously still exist in many more compact wards. Is her attitude solely a result of the 1980 change to the block program and of living in a large "gentile" city? Or are other factors at work?

For example, each of the thirteen women who have now served as general presidents of Relief Society is celebrated in the exhibit with her photograph and a presumably representative quotation. "We are going to do something extraordinary!" proclaimed Emma Smith; and Eliza R. Snow declared, "As daughters of Zion, we should set an example for all the world, rather than confine ourselves to the course which has been heretofore pursued." These statements are riveting and spine-chilling, but those of recent presidents seem to degenerate into trite Relief-Societese. I was struck with a sense of loss of mission, with a turning from looking outward to looking inward, from saving ourselves *and* the world to just saving ourselves.

Nauvoo's women, in the midst of poverty and persecution, looked at what Relief Society could do for the world as well as for themselves; we in our affluence have looked at what Relief Society can do for us and the Church. It is to be hoped that this sesquicentennial year, with its emphasis on service, will in reality mark a much-needed change of direction, not just a one-time or year-long series of community projects. There are welcome indications that this is the desire of Sister Elaine Jack and her counsellors.

As a second example, I lingered with both delight and increased loss over the display on the organization's beginnings. The original Relief Society minute book, opened to the first meeting, provides a fascinating commentary on the way women's roles have changed. "The Prest. [Emma Smith] then suggested that she would like an argument with Elder Taylor on the words Relief and Benevolence . . . Prest. J. Smith—Benevolent is a popular term—*Relief* is more extended in its signification

than *Benevolent* and might . . . be wrongly construed by our enemies to say that the Society was to relieve criminals from punishment &c. &c. . . . Prest. Emma Smith, said the *popularity* of the word benevolent is one great objection . . . do not wish to have it called after other Societies in the world—Eliza R. Snow arose and said that she felt to concur with the President [Emma Smith] . . . that the popular Institutions of the day should not be our guide. . . . Elder Taylor arose and said—I shall have to concede the point— your arguments are so potent I cannot stand before them. . . . Prest. J. S. said I also shall have to concede the point." The word *argue* obviously did not then have the pejorative connotations attached to it in the Church today, where many bishops and stake presidents expect (and usually get) meek agreement from Relief Society presidents with whatever decisions the male hierarchy make. We are taught to consider these decisions as always and inevitably inspired, and therefore not to be argued with. Our experience, perhaps, teaches us that some decisions are more inspired than others.

As a third example, I marveled at displays commemorating granaries and cooperatives, sericulture and hospitals and nurses' training schemes; another shows the world-wide Relief Society effort to provide warm clothing for World War II victims. I felt uneasy as I turned to regard the plethora of quilts in the exhibition—quilts as works of art, quilts meant for home beautification rather than as warm bedding, quilts ranging from the beautiful and intricate to the (to me) tacky temple in gold satin. I wondered why Relief Society, at least in relatively affluent countries, isn't engaged in a massive effort to knit and sew clothing for those who are cold and in need in former Iron Curtain countries; why we are not doing today's equivalent of gleaning wheat for the starving millions of Africa. In so saying, I do not wish to diminish the often heroic service cheerfully given and gratefully received in many wards; and certainly the Church does much in the Third World through fast offering and welfare funds, but the sense of feeling personally connected to alleviating suffering outside her immediate circle is rare for the rank-and-file Relief Society woman.

I have frequently wondered whether the change of name from the utilitarian, humble "Work Meeting" to "Homemaking Meeting" helped turn our direction inward, to beautifying our own homes rather than relieving the needy. Or did the change of name merely reflect a change of purpose already taking place? In this exhibition, it seemed that only the reproduced model home built in Guatemala in 1973 by two female health missionaries (not really a Relief Society project) carried forward the earlier tradition.

I felt a special pang at the corner featuring former Relief Society textbooks. This curricular wealth would be mind-boggling to my daughters' generation, fed bread-and-milk in today's meetings. As well as a selection of texts—*The Literature of England,* Farrar's *Life of Christ,* T. E. Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom,* the *Poems of Keats,* Carl Sandburg's *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years,* to name just a few—there is a Deseret Books poster advertising Relief Society texts for 1950–51, and pointing out that Relief Society lessons provided the equivalent of a college education— once Relief Society's proud and truthful boast. In 1965 I prepared for

the English Honours paper of the New South Wales matriculation examination solely by carrying out my Relief Society calling of teaching from the first volume of *Out of the Best Books*. I ranked third in the state, won first-class honours in English and a university scholarship, and have been grateful to Relief Society and the two BYU professors who authored the text ever since. I also believe that my usefulness to my family, my community, and my Church was magnified many times as a result of both my Relief Society education and the university education Relief Society helped me get.

Yes, I know that sisters in Bolivia and Nigeria do not need Relief Society lessons in English literature. But I also know that, to quote Mortimer J. Adler in a lesson from *Out of the Best Books*, "only the things which are over our heads can lift us up."[1] This is the lesson of the Atonement, after all. Whether we are participating in Relief Society lessons in the United States or Australia, in France or South Africa or Chile or Tonga or Mexico, we need the sauce of mental stimulation to make our spiritual food appetising and satisfying.

Over 135 years ago, in a little rural settlement one hundred miles north of Sydney, Australia, a convert couple named their new baby daughter Eliza Snow Sharp. I wonder how far Elaine Jack's influence will reach? While it is scarcely Sister Jack's fault, I would venture to say that, despite the recent worldwide sesquicentennial telecast, few Latter-day Saint women in Australia could even name today's general president of Relief Society, let alone feel inspired to name a child for her. Dealing with twin problems—the enormous growth of the Church and the associated constraints of correlation—Sister Jack, despite her best efforts, is even more remote from the members over whom she presides than is the prophet. But we have lost something in the process.

A parade and a museum exhibition have more in common than would at first appear. In this sesquicentennial year, a prize-winning float in the Days of '47 Parade down Salt Lake City's Main Street also celebrated Relief Society. Posed figures, dressed in white, with white-painted faces and powdered hair, replicated the sentimental, idealized statuettes treasured in many LDS homes. Perhaps I am out of tune; but to me, that float represented the ultimate perversion—nature imitating art. To me, it warned what Relief Society is in danger of becoming—a pale ghost of its former vital self, an art piece to be looked at with mixed feelings: wonder at all that has been done and regret for all that has been lost.

MARJORIE NEWTON, of Sydney, Australia, is the author of *Southern Cross Saints: The Mormons in Australia* (Laie, Hawaii: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1991) and is currently researching a book on the history of Mormonism in New Zealand.

Lawrence Foster. *Women, Family, and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the*

[1]"What Makes a Great Book," in *Out of the Best Books*, edited by Bruce B. Clark and Robert K. Thomas, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1965), 1:20.

Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1991. xx, 353 pp.; photographs, bibliography, index; $37.95 hardback, $16.95 paperback. 0–81562–535–9

Reviewed by Francine R. Bennion

Women, Family, and Utopia is not a newly created study but a conglomerate of Foster's previous writing, unevenly mined to "highlight and elaborate on relations between men and women in the early Shaker, Oneida Perfectionism, and Mormon movements for those who may never have heard of their experiments" and to "explore the ways in which these unorthodox experiments in communal living addressed issues of major contemporary concern" (p. xiv). Four chapters are abbreviated excerpts from Foster's award-winning earlier book, *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984; originally published by Oxford University Press, 1981), with some additions. The remaining eight chapters are revised journal articles Foster published between 1979 and 1988.

Many of these pieces were not originally focused on issues of women and family. Foster draws implications for them, and for radical community change in general, from chapters on Shaker celibacy, Shaker and Salem trance and possession phenomena, failed prophecy, the Oneida community's "free love" and their community crises of 1852 and 1879, polygamy experiences of Mormon women in Nauvoo and in Utah, and changing roles of Mormon women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The achievement is uneven. The author's purposes were apparently composed after the bulk of the writing was done, and the resultant "pasting together" is often obtrusive, disjunctive, and unsatisfying. I found myself yearning for better editing, for more details to support Foster's conclusions, and for richer development and exploration of his questions. I would also have welcomed more extensive examination of the "larger social and intellectual context" into which Foster promised to put the issues he examined (p. 5).

He does not always define terms. For example, Foster writes that "spirituality" was one of the criteria used by the Oneida community in assigning members to a hierarchy of "ascending and descending fellowship." (p. 96) What did they mean by "spirituality"? How did their definition differ from that of the Shakers? There is much repetition: not only details but whole sentences and paragraphs recur in successive chapters. For example, a summary of John Humphrey Noyes's pre-Oneida activities appears in virtually identical words on both page 80 and 94.

He gives considerable space and enthusiasm to the hypothesis that manic-depression might account for Joseph Smith's "remarkable actions" in introducing polygamy during his last years, though he says these observations are intended to be "suggestive, not definitive" (pp. 161–68). His treatment is too brief for competent exploration but too lengthy for balance with other hypotheses, such as a passing

reference to the possibility of "mental disorder" among the Shakers (p. 45). I have never been convinced that such psychiatric labeling of corpses is useful, however interesting the exercise. Psychiatric assessment is hazardous enough with the living, more so with the dead.

As in his earlier book, Foster says, "I have let these groups speak for themselves about their attitudes toward the role of women in society" and he promises "to judge their efforts, fairly and critically, in terms of how well they achieve their *own* goals" (p. xv). This is a commendable goal, but quotes from group members are sparse in many chapters. What we read more often is Foster's reconstruction.

Some of these reconstructions are valuable. He asserts that for Shakers, Oneidans, and Mormons, "the role of women . . . was to be treated as part of the broader concerns of the group, not as an independent variable" and that "attitudes toward women and religious authority were different from the attitudes toward women in economic life" (pp. 224, 228). He also details issues of power, hierarchy, and control which have marked all three communities, and their costs for women. For example, the apparent equality of Shaker men and women "existed in the context of an extremely hierarchical, oligarchic structure"—namely, the unquestioning acknowledgement of Noyes's "paternalistic, God-like authority" (pp. 18, 96). For Mormon women and men, "order and hierarchy are fundamental values" and "the good of the whole community is always more important than the good of any of the component members in isolation. This does not mean that change in the status of women is impossible, but rather that such change, when it comes, will be part of the broader process of change within the entire organization" (p. 213). Foster asserts that Mormon polygamy, Shaker celibacy, and Oneidan "free love," all express a value dominant in all three groups, the sacrifice of individual concerns for larger group goals.

Tensions between "individual desires" and "long-term group goals" are, however, more complex in Mormonism than Foster suggests. The goal of becoming individual gods was probably as central a motive in polygamous marriage as any group goal. The importance of control and order carries with it the inherent importance of individual status and hierarchy. Foster asserts that plural marriage, "at least until the 1880s, . . . brought [women] higher status through association with the *most influential* men" as did "rearing righteous children in the families of the *best* men" (pp. 190, 231; italics mine).

While Foster's evidence that leaders and members accepted the long-term group goals inherent in plural marriage is solid, the same evidence suggests that members' hopes and fears about individual status in this life and the next cannot be dismissed as less important. If group goals were as primary as Foster suggests, or, conversely, if individual progress and status were clearly the superior value, then issues of women, family, and change might be more easily resolved in this century than they have been. It is the profound commitment of members to both at once, I think, that produces much of the difficulty.

Foster errs on several counts, I think, when he asserts: "Mormon women's profound dissatisfaction with their current constricted role appears to have pene-

trated far below the intellectual leaders to rank-and-file women who help keep the basic operations of the church running" (p. 218). "Intellectual leaders" is a misnomer, and Foster himself has detailed the long-standing struggles of "rank and file women." They struggle, not because they are loyal either to Church leadership or to scriptural injunctions to become godlike, but because they want to be loyal to both. They are troubled, not because they care primarily about the Church community or primarily about their individual status, but because they care about both. Many rank and file women feel pressure to be outstanding, to be leaders and rise above the rest of the group at the same time they are to be one with them. They hear directives to develop all their abilities but then to limit their use and expression, to make responsible, independent decisions everywhere but in the Church community they love. Foster's repeated emphasis on Mormon commitment to preserving the community at the cost of the individual is too simplistic.

Perhaps any scholarly attempt to impose a framework of order on complex, diverse human experience must by definition be too simplistic. This is not to say it is not worth the effort. Foster concludes *Women, Family, and Utopia*, an earlier chapter within it, and *Religion and Sexuality* with an almost identical sentiment: "In an imperfect world, there are no permanent revolutions, only limited and transitory triumphs. But there is, I am convinced, continuing value in the pursuit of an impossible ideal" (p. 238). I agree that there is continuing value in the pursuit of seemingly impossible ideals and in struggles to understand those ideals. His own pursuit presses us to examine our understanding of the issues he addresses.

FRANCINE R. BENNION teaches in an Honors History of Civilization colloquium at BYU and has a long-standing interest in literary and historical attempts to create "perfect" communities.

Dean C. Jessee, editor, *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Volume 1: Autobiographical and Historical Writings*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1989; xliv, 557 pp.; index, illustrations; $19.95. 0–87579–199–9

Dean C. Jessee, editor, *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Volume 2: Journal: 1832–1842*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1992; xxv, 642 pp.; index, illustrations; $21.95. 0–87579–545–5

Reviewed by Richard L. Bushman

The publication of these two volumes of *The Papers of Joseph Smith* makes clear what will appear in this "first series," as Dean Jessee calls the first three volumes of *The Papers*. This first set will contain "Autobiographical and Historical Writings" (Vol. 1), Joseph Smith's "Journal" from 1832 to 1842 (Vol. 2), and the remainder of the "Journal" covering 1843–44 (Vol. 3). We can hope that the rest of the papers, consisting largely of correspondence, sermons, and revelations, will appear in a subsequent series.

The publication of the two volumes raises the question of how they relate to previous publications of Joseph Smith's writings. Dean Jessee also edited *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), which might mistakenly be thought of as one of the volumes in *The Papers of Joseph Smith,* since the same rigorous standards were followed and many of the same editorial conventions. But *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* was meant to stand alone. Many of the documents in *The Personal Writings* are reproduced in Vols. 1 and 2 of *The Papers;* and if publication continues beyond the first series, all of the selections in this earlier volume will eventually appear.

Jessee intended *The Personal Writings* to serve a particular purpose. The book brought together everything Joseph wrote by his own hand or dictated, drawing from his autobiographical writings, some of his diary, and a large number of letters. That assemblage helped us to get closer to Joseph Smith as a person than we could before. For a long time, we had carelessly assumed that Joseph wrote everything in his diaries and histories. As Jessee laboriously identified the actual authors of the writings, it became clear that Joseph the man was hidden behind the screen of other people's prose. *The Personal Writings* enabled us to hear his own voice and so to experience his personality through his writings.

The duplication of documents in *The Personal Writings* and *The Papers,* however, is not the only overlap in the publication of Joseph's papers. We have long relied on the serviceable collection of documents in Joseph Smith's *History of the Church* [7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1957 printing)]. The "Documentary History," as it has been called, presented an abundant record of Joseph's life, including the journals in Vols. 2 and 3 of *The Papers.* Jessee observes that "to those already familiar with the documentary *History of the Church*, the publication of Joseph Smith's journal does not present a great amount of new information about his life and times" (vol. 2:xxiv).

What then will we gain from *The Papers of Joseph Smith?* The usual reason for republishing the papers of important historical figures is to introduce newly discovered documents and to bring the published papers up to the ever-rising standards of the best historical editing. Joseph Smith's historical significance requires that his papers receive this kind of expert attention. Jessee's edition indicates all mark-overs, deletions, and insertions, shedding light on the writer's method of composition. Sometimes the words rejected while writing are as revealing as the ones that were eventually used.

But a still greater contribution of *The Papers,* in my opinion, is the organization of the documents. *The History of the Church* interweaves all the documents—autobiography, diaries, revelations, sermons, and correspondence—in a single continuous narrative. B. H. Roberts chose the most accurate and informative of the overlapping accounts, and interwove relevant letters, revelations, and sermons in chronological order. Where accounts disagreed, he trimmed and explained to make everything fit into a single story line.

In *The Papers,* Dean Jessee has disassembled the documents by types. Auto-

biographical and historical writings are collected in Volume 1, journals in Volumes 2 and 3, and presumably correspondence in later volumes. Besides the works Joseph himself wrote or dictated, Volume 1 includes accounts of Joseph's history by Oliver Cowdery, Orson Pratt, Daniel Rupp, Alexander Neibaur, and an editor of the *Pittsburgh Gazette,* David Nye White. Their appearance in *The Papers of Joseph Smith* is puzzling at first—until we recognize that these histories presumably were based on stories which the narrators heard from Joseph or from those close to him. Once the door is open to accounts like these, the reader wonders about other possible inclusions—Joseph Knight's "Recollection," for example—but still the aim is clear. Jessee wished to include all the firsthand histories by Joseph himself and by those near to him. Instead of forming a single narrative, as *The History of the Church* did, *The Papers of Joseph Smith* gives us the components that enable us to make our own narratives.

Implicitly, *The Papers of Joseph Smith* invites us to become historians and biographers ourselves. This spirit informs the editing throughout. The reader is given direct access to the raw materials of history. The documents are presented in forms approximating the actual manuscripts as fully as printing conventions allow. Jessee reproduces spelling, punctuation, and capitalization exactly as they appeared, even when faulty by our standards. Insertions are placed in angle brackets, canceled material reproduced with a line through it, underlined words italicized. The original documents are described so that we can imagine what it would be like to hold them in our hands. The first journal "consists of 93 pages written in brown ink, measuring 5 ⅞ x 3 ¾ inches. The front and back covers are stiff cardboard with marble-design paper pasted over them" (2:1). We are told whose handwriting we are seeing. Joseph's handwriting is set in boldface; and when a transition occurs, a footnote informs us that now Oliver Cowdery is writing, or Warren Parrish, or whoever.

Dean Jessee's expert annotation and editing actually enable us to know more from reading *The Papers* than we would know by having the documents directly before our eyes. Besides the handwriting analysis, footnotes fill in historical background, including the relevant primary and secondary literature. When Joseph records the baptism of Ebenezer Robinson on 16 October 1825 (the date is questionable), the footnote gives us Robinson's account of the affair from his "items of Personal History" in *The Return.* When the journal notes on 26 September 1835 that the Twelve returned from the east this morning, a footnote refers us to Ronald Esplin's Ph.D. dissertation "The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership, 1830–42," for more information. Should an unfamiliar character appear in the journal, we can turn to the biographical register at the end. Should we lose our place in the flow of events, a Joseph Smith chronology will reorient us.

The Papers of Joseph Smith is published for scholars, but the volumes implicitly invite every reader to become a scholar of Joseph Smith's life. The editor has done his best to give us everything we need to make our own history of the Prophet. If nothing else, readers can note the sharp alteration in tone when we pass from the boldface writing in Joseph's own hand to the writing of the other scribes. On 6

October 1833 Joseph reports "at Brother Ruds [John Rudd] had a great congregation paid good attention Oh God Seal our te[s]timony—to their hearts Amen—" In the next sentence with no paragraph break we move to words in Sidney Rigdon's hand: "Continued at springfield untill tuesday," going on to report a meeting where "we spoke to them as the spirite gave [p. 6] utterence they were greatly gratifyed." Then on the same page back to Joseph: "I feel very well in my mind the Lord is with us but have much anxiety about my family &c;—" (2:6) Sidney Rigdon gives business-like reports of what happened. Joseph loads his words with emotion, expressing his yearnings, his appreciation, and his worries. Recognizing Joseph's capacity for mixing feeling into his words helps us to understand how he bound people to him, winning their hearts to his cause and himself.

But personality is only part of what we learn from encountering the raw materials of Joseph's life. His personality was present in *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, and Scott Faulring's excellent edition of Joseph's writings, *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989). *The Papers of Joseph Smith* offers something more than the story of his warm heart and strong feelings. These comprehensive and fastidiously edited volumes open the possibility of innumerable other narratives. A life as complex as Joseph Smith's cannot be encompassed in a single story. His life was made up of many stories, joining him with the lives of thousands of others. Intellectual currents, social developments, and political forces played about him on every side. In every person, every event, every idea that crossed Joseph's path, there is a story, and *The Papers of Joseph Smith* is a fundamental resource for telling each one. All who wish to bring their own knowledge and imagination to bear on the life of Joseph Smith will now begin with these volumes.

Furthermore, *The Papers of Joseph Smith* reveal to every reader a Joseph Smith that has gradually been lost through the years. The writings of the Prophet have inevitably accumulated a patina of honor and glory associated with his role in the founding of the Church, dimming his features as a real historical person. For many Latter-day Saints, the documents in *The History of the Church* have become an extension of scripture, mined for nuggets of doctrine and inspirational stories. That treatment of an historical figure has its benefits, but one disadvantage is a loss of historical reality. Joseph Smith is elevated above real historical time into sacred time, as Jan Shipps has termed it.

The Papers of Joseph Smith puts us back in touch with the man behind the aura. The volumes take off a layer of the patina that has accumulated over the years. The idiosyncratic spelling, the unfinished punctuation, the stops and starts in the documents remind us that a real person was making this record—not only the written record but the life which the record reflected. By breaking up the steady flow of *The History of the Church*, by allowing the ragged edges to show, we see Joseph Smith, the man, leading a life in real historical time. Some Latter-day Saints may feel that they have met Joseph Smith for the first time in these pages.

Some soul-searching must have occurred before Church leaders commissioned

Dean Jessee to prepare these papers. In Joseph's case, apprehensions are not warranted. Joseph Smith turns out to be immensely attractive as a real human being. But even if he were not, even if other readers compose stories that discredit the Prophet, the publication of *The Papers of Joseph Smith* is in the Church's best interest. The only sure foundation for history is unvarnished truth. An accurate and complete publication of documents surely is the right step. Everyone will benefit from this publication, including its sponsor.

Among the many stories buried in *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, Dean Jessee himself has an important one to tell. Running through the introductions, headnotes, and footnotes is the account of how the records of Joseph's life came to be kept. Jessee marvels that Joseph managed to get anything down amid the meetings, projects, persecutions, translation, travels, and preaching that occupied him. While lamenting the hiatuses when record-keeping halted, Jessee admires Joseph's resolve to begin again when circumstances allowed. We can be grateful that Joseph and his scribes recorded as much as they did during his brief and hectic life and that all those documents have now fallen into the capable and sensitive editorial hands of Dean Jessee.

RICHARD L. BUSHMAN, Gouverneur Morris Professor of History at Columbia University, is the author of *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, David J. Whittaker. *Men with a Mission: The Mission of the Quorum of Twelve to Britain, 1837–1841*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1992. xix, 460 pp., 91 photographs and maps, index; $24.00. 0–87579–546–3

Reviewed by Douglas J. Davies

This is a big book about a limited historical period of four years. As its title clearly shows, it is about the nine members of the Quorum of the Twelve whom Joseph Smith sent to Britain as missionaries during a strategically difficult time period in the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

At the purely descriptive level, the authors focus on the nine missionaries, their wives and families, the practical demands of traveling, and the realities of living abroad. The reconstruction of where they went and what they did in Britain is very detailed. It is a good example of a book grounded in the use of personal documents, diaries, and letters all used in conjunction with historical church records. Not least among these is the *Millennial Star*, the periodical they began for British Mormons, which constitutes a vitally important record of LDS life in England from the 1840s until it was absorbed by the U.S.-published *Ensign* in 1971.

But the importance of this book does not lie solely in its mass of historical

detail painstakingly pieced together by the authors, whose expertise is quite apparent. In fact the book's significance concerns the maturing of the Quorum of the Twelve as an institution between 1837 and 1841, the four years covered by what amounted to two separate "waves."[1] They were relatively young men whose influence on the Church was to be significant for generations to come both as practical and doctrinal leaders. In 1840 Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball were thirty-eight, Orson Hyde and Willard Richards were thirty-five, Parley P. Pratt and Wilford Woodruff were thirty-two, John Taylor was thirty-one, Orson Pratt was twenty-eight, and George A. Smith was twenty-two. With the exception of Taylor, an Englishman, all were Americans.

In many respects Joseph Smith as prophet is very much a background figure throughout the book's four hundred or so pages—a significant fact because the Quorum of the Twelve had been established in 1835 as a group which theoretically balanced the First Presidency and was equal in authority to it. (In fact, the Twelve didn't come close to balancing the First Presidency until after their return from Britain.) This key sociological fact of the Quorum's relation to the First Presidency lies behind the significance of the years in England when this group, largely isolated from the First Presidency, grew in dependence upon each other and came to act as an authoritative body. Because of sporadic and uncertain contact with the First Presidency, they were increasingly thrown on their own judgement and authority, an experience that was formative for them as a group.

This period thus constituted a group rite of passage for the apostles. Removed from the American background of Church life, they suffered hardship together, learned by experience what it meant to be a leadership group, and unknowingly prepared themselves to guide the Church after the killing of Joseph Smith in 1844, only three years after their return from England. The integrative power of shared afflictions, joys, and sorrows was to be of immense significance for the period of westward migration and consolidation of the Church in the Great Basin.

By a kind of analogy, their experience established a pattern that would be reflected by many ordinary missionary Saints for the next century and more who would gain significant maturity through their mission period. Back in Nauvoo, these men were "returned apostles." Joseph Smith found he could depend upon them as people who had been tried and not found wanting. What is more, they had proved themselves when at a great distance from him and partly through the decisions they had taken by themselves.

It was during their work in Britain that the call for emigration began, beginning the flow of British converts that would give strong ballast to the Latter-day Saints in America. This particular British period was also radically important in fostering

[1]Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde arrived in July 1837 with Willard Richards, not yet an apostle; Kimball and Hyde returned to the United States in April 1838; most of the other apostles reached Great Britain in January-April 1840, stayed until April 1841, then departed leaving Parley P. Pratt in charge until October 1842.

tracts and more substantial religious writing, both as part of an apologetic relationship with the non-Mormon world and also for educational purposes within the Church. The authors suggest that, "in a real sense, the appearance of tracts and books after 1837 parallels the movement of Mormonism into more urban, cosmopolitan settings, where the printed word became an important vehicle for building the Church" (p. 265). This development is clearly established through their major printing and publication achievements: a hymnal, the *Millennial Star*, and an edition of the Book of Mormon. Other publications also helped formalize many Mormon beliefs that were unique within the Christian world. Joseph Smith's "later decision to place the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in charge of publishing in Nauvoo was surely an outgrowth of their work in England" (p. 246).

A more individual and personal note is the constant theme of illness, which could easily be ignored by modern readers who possess easy access to medical care. Throughout their many letters and personal accounts, these apostles document unceasing struggles against debilitating sickness—not only their own but that of their families. Along with homesickness, it was a basic concern of the apostles, forming so persistent a subtext that one wonders what a special study of illness in relation to the faith and religious motivation of early Mormons might show. Sickness and loneliness seem to stand as forms of deprivation which make the personal sacrifice of these missionaries all the more significant. Health/illness certainly became a significant factor in encouraging emigration from certain British towns later in the nineteenth century.

The volume provides a lengthy context of English religious and cultural life at the time of the apostles' visit. Many readers will find useful Appendix A, a twenty-page essay written by Malcolm R. Thorp, which presents an informative and sufficiently deep picture of British religion against which to read the more individualistic cases of the Apostles and their work.

Appendix B gives a fuller picture of that individual-influenced dimension in a series of letters written by and to the Apostles. This includes the Epistle of the Quorum of the Twelve to the British Saints, 15 April 1841, their last corporate message to the British Saints before leaving for America. It was published in the first volume of the *Millennial Star* and its style is, in many respects, quite splendid and typically Mormon. Speaking from memory I do not think I recall many stylistically better pieces in that journal:

> The spirit of emigration has actuated the children of men from the time our first parents were expelled from the garden until now; . . . it was emigration that first broke upon the deathlike silence and loneliness of an empty earth, and caused the desolate land to team [sic] with life. . . . It was emigration that first peopled England, once a desolate island, . . . that turned America into a fruitful field . . . (p. 427)

This passage ends with the very practical advice that golden sovereigns are better money than American bank-notes for emigrants, a juxtaposition that illustrates well the abstract and pragmatic levels running throughout the book. Some readers

may find the text overloaded with parochial detail and a little weak on theoretical argument. But numerous significant insights into Mormon organization emerge for the diligent reader. Sociologists of religion, for example, will find considerable data for use in their own analyses of organizational development and the growth of doctrine. For historians of Mormonism in Britain, this will be an important book, showing how this British experience was creative and influential as far as later Mormon thought and practice were concerned.

Other readers will doubtless enjoy the details of geography and itinerary and will also benefit from the many photographs and several maps which help convey something of the era and location within which these apostles suffered and served in the calling they believed to be theirs in the cause of the Restoration.

DOUGLAS J. DAVIES, B.A., B.A., M.Litt., Ph.D., is Director of Mormon Studies within the Department of Theology at the University of Nottingham where he is Senior Lecturer teaching in the fields of the Social Anthropology of Religion and of Pastoral Theology. He holds bachelor's degrees and research degrees both in social anthropology and theology. For his B.Litt, taken at Oxford University in 1972, he wrote a thesis entitled "The Mormons of Merthyr Tydfil," the first serious social science study of Mormonism. Among recent works are *Mormon Spirituality: Latter Day Saints in Wales and Zion* (University of Nottingham and Utah State University Press, 1987); "Mormon History, Identity, and Faith Community," in *History and Ethnicity*, edited by E. Tonkin et al. (London: Routledge, 1989); and "Pilgrimage in Mormon Culture," in *Social Anthropology of Pilgrimage*, edited by M. Jha (New Delhi: All India Press, 1991).

Marjorie Newton, *Southern Cross Saints: The Mormons in Australia.* Laie, Hawaii: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University-Hawaii, 1991; xxv, 283 pp.; illustrations, index; foreword by Lawrence Foster, $12.95.

Reviewed by Geoffrey F. Spencer

As a young RLDS missionary in the 1950s, assigned to serve two Australian cities seventeen hundred and fifty miles apart linked by a two-day train journey, I well understand why Marjorie Newton so strongly identifies "the tyranny of distance"[1] as a dominant factor inhibiting early Mormon missionary efforts in that land. Church authorities in Utah simply failed to understand the formidable barriers to proselyting, supervision, and communications in a land mass approximately the size of mainland U.S.A., with communities concentrated around the perimeter of the island but separated by vast and empty spaces. Although other factors, both in Australia and in Utah, contribute to an understanding of the Mormon experience in Australia, the specter of distance was ubiquitous.

Southern Cross Saints provides the most comprehensive and carefully docu-

[1]See Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia's History* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1985).

mented survey of the LDS Church in Australia yet offered, which includes some attention to early RLDS efforts as well. Newton advances several theses to account for the growth rate of the church in Australia, balancing the careful interpretation of analytical data with the judicious use of anecdotal detail. The result is a well balanced and absorbing survey with appeal for the scholar and general reader, both Mormon and non-Mormon. Newton's prevailing concern, underlying the historical narrative, is to account for the faltering growth of the Church between 1840, when the first missionaries arrived in Sydney, and the early 1950s, compared with the spectacular increase in membership (from 2,000 to 76,000) over the past forty years.

Lawrence Foster's claim that "Newton displays a broader and more self-critical awareness of cross-cultural issues than most others who have studied Mormon missionary activity outside the United States" (p. xiii) seems well founded. The author's appraisal of factors inhibiting early growth, and still to some degree restraining the effectiveness of the Church in the "colony" may well resonate with other Australian members of American-born religious movements, including "Reorganites."

Necessarily but succinctly, Newton prefaces her work with a review of the Restoration movement from its inception in the "burned-over district" of upstate New York in the early nineteenth century (Chapter 1). The next chapter briefly traces the development of the Church in Australia between 1840 and 1990. Of particular interest to members of the Reorganized Church is the role played by Charles Wesley Wandell,[2] who served as a missionary at different times for both groups, though most Australians visiting Wandell's grave site in Sydney, including me, are unaware of the Utah connection. The major part of the book provides sufficient detail to maintain the narrative thread. However, Newton focuses primarily on analytical factors which have received the barest of attention to this point, yet which are of the utmost importance, both for understanding the past and anticipating the potential future of the Church in Australia. For Newton, the "why" is as significant as the "what" and the "when."

The problems of distance were daunting until the development of more modern transportation methods but must be understood against the background of other profound influences. Newton identifies several Australian cultural factors, including a deeply rooted skepticism, as inhibitions on proselyting success. I would support this view, especially as it has applied to home-grown American religions exported overseas. Newton also feels that anti-intellectualism in Australia inhibited acceptance of the Mormon message, though twenty-five years' residence in the United States persuades me that the Australian climate is no more anti-intellectual than that encountered in the "promised land."[3]

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[2]See also Marjorie Newton's more recent work, *Hero or Traitor: A Biographical Study of Charles Wesley Wandell,* John Whitmer Historical Association Monograph Series (Independence: Independence Press, 1992).

[3]See Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970).

While well aware of local influences, Newton suggests that the explanation for the pattern of growth in Australia can be attributed not so much to domestic influences as to policies and attitudes emanating from Utah, and to events in the United States impacting, directly or indirectly, the Australian experience. The early policy and preoccupation concerning the "gathering" prompted Australian converts to consider congregations in Australia as temporary way stations on their passage to Zion. Australian membership was thus depleted by periodic emigrations until the reversal of the policy after 1890. The poignant story of Martha Maria Humphries, drowned with her daughter when the *Julia Ann* sank (pp. 117–18), illustrates the compelling power of the yearning to gather during these early years.

The meager supply of literature from Utah also hampered missionary efforts. Even more seriously, the failure to appreciate the vast distances involved meant that the missionary force was repeatedly understaffed. Indeed, throughout much of the first century, New Zealand was more generously equipped than its sister dominion. When missionaries were called home, as they were during the "Mormon War" threat of the late 1850s and during periods when the United States was involved in international conflict, expansion was severely curtailed.

The period of fragmentation following the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and the expulsion from Nauvoo further impacted the struggling movement in Australia. Subsequently, reports and rumors of polygamy fueled suspicion and hostility in religious and government circles in Australia. More recently, Newton believes, Mormon basketball teams and the Tabernacle Choir may have done more to overcome residual hostilities than traditional proselyting methods, though the Church may still be regarded with indifference by the larger Australian public.

The travel demands made on President David O. McKay during his 1955 visit influenced changes in the travel policy, in much the same way that the 1960 visit of President W. Wallace Smith of the Reorganized Church (six feet, six inches tall) is believed to have had some bearing on changing the car policy so that Australian missionaries, instead of using only mini-sized vehicles, were instructed to acquire larger models. Decentralization of many services (such as membership recording) after 1975, reduction in the size of administrative units, improvement in communications, and the opening of the Sydney Temple in 1984 all contributed to an overall enhancement of missionary efforts and results.

Some tensions and problems remain. The Australian church, in Newton's view, has been hampered because of official reluctance to use indigenous personnel more widely in leadership positions. Many Australian members share this feeling, she asserts, "though most hesitate to make public statements to this effect in case their loyalty to the Church authorities should be doubted" (p. 206).

Recognition of Australia's peculiar culture and history has been slow in coming, so that standardized materials and programs have often been imposed on Australians. Newton gives some humorous yet biting references to instances when differences in the American seasons, school year, and national holidays highlighted the incongruence of Utah-based materials.

Newton's observations on the attitudes of female Mormons are brief and, if accurate, reflect their relatively placid acceptance "with only desultory complaints from a few individual women about denial of the priesthood to females" (p. 211). Australian Mormon women are apparently unaware of the practice of ordaining women in the Reorganized Church since 1984, and if aware of it, are not moved to restlessness (p. 211). At the same time, many women consider that American programs and materials are increasingly irrelevant to Australian needs and interests.

Given the magnitude and quality of the study, criticism might appear paltry. Better perhaps to voice three wishes. First, I wish Newton had given some attention to the impact of the local culture upon theological perspectives. Is there any "Australian-ness" reflected in how Australian members perceive the faith? Perhaps this issue is peripheral to the main narrative, but I find it difficult to believe that Mormon thought has remained impervious to the Australian historical/cultural/political environment.

Second, I wish that Newton had chosen to reference the extensive and, in my opinion, more responsible literature on the church-sect issue rather than a single obscure source[4] in describing the status of the contemporary church in Australia. Is being born into a community of faith rather than being converted to it a significant criterion for distinguishing church from sect, and on these grounds can it be held that Mormonism is gaining acceptance in Australia as a church rather than a sect?

Finally, I am intrigued by the introduction, in the penultimate paragraph, of a provocative thesis[5] to account for the current and potential future growth of the Church in Australia. Do Australians respond to a more proscriptive and firmly structured faith, as Mol states? (p. 213) Perhaps this view must await an equally responsible sociological study of Mormonism in Australia.

The study is amply supported by extensive footnotes and charts, a glossary of LDS terms, and a comprehensive bibliography. Marjorie Newton's fine blending of scholarship and faith engenders confidence in her summation (p. 215), which may be equally significant for other nations where the Mormon Church has taken root:

> Church leaders in Salt Lake City must reconcile their desire for universalism with the desire for national destiny in Australia; they must allow far greater input into Church curriculum materials and programs; and continue to appoint increasing numbers of Australians to leadership positions at all levels. Otherwise the American image will persist, and the LDS Church in Australia will remain what it currently is, a peripheral and semi-alien presence uneasily astride two cultures, no longer wholly American but by no means identifiably Australian.

GEOFFREY F. SPENCER, a native of Australia, is President of the Council of Twelve Apostles

[4]Alan Smith, *The Established Church and Popular Religion, 1750–1850* (London: Longman, 1971).

[5]The thesis is drawn from Hans Mol, "Religion in Australia: Who Goes Where?" in *Current Affairs Bulletin*, September 1985.

in the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. He holds master's degrees from the University of Sydney (education), the University of Missouri at Kansas City (history), and St. Paul's Seminary (divinity). He is the author of several books, articles in RLDS publications, and a number of hymn texts in the current RLDS hymnal.

Maureen Ursenbach Beecher. *Eliza and Her Sisters.* Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1991; ix, 179 pp., photos, index; $8.95. 1–56236–205–4

Reviewed by Lola Van Wagenen

Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, long in the vanguard of Mormon women's history over the last quarter century, has focused a generous portion of her talent on Eliza R. Snow (1804–87), the most visible woman in nineteenth-century Mormondom. Unlike many women's historians who struggle to bring their subjects out of obscurity, Beecher's challenge has been of a different sort: to separate the real woman from the Saint while exploring the Saint in the woman. It is a task she has met with insight and originality.

Eliza and Her Sisters is a collection of Beecher's essays with Snow as a central figure. The cornerstone of Beecher's interpretation is "The Eliza Enigma" (1974), the first essay in the collection and the earliest published. In it Beecher examines the four terms by which Snow was known: "poetess," "prophetess," "priestess," "presidentess"—conveniently in more or less chronological order. What guides Beecher's multi-layered rendering of Snow's functions is her interest in the "elusive" and "enigmatic" aspects of Snow, what she calls the search for the "person within."

The "Poetess" role, for example, reveals a bright young woman who shared the poetical and patriotic enthusiasm of many other American girls of her generation. What altered the course of her life and poetry was conversion to Mormonism where she became "Zion's Poetess." Her secret marriage to Joseph Smith "proved the fulcrum on which her life balanced itself" (p. 9). For an exegesis of this complicated experience, Beecher employs her literary training to analyze the veiled language of Snow's poetry and prose, revealing in the process the private woman who is both anxious and insecure, inspired and mystical.

Beecher's search for the "person within" not only unveils the contradictions and surprises of an enigmatic Eliza, but also liberates Snow from the pedestal where heroines are often enshrined. Though Beecher views Snow as a "paragon of administrative skill," she also observes that Snow had "little creative spark" (p. 32). This shortcoming inhibited Snow's poetry and doctrinal insight; she was the implementor of projects, not the originator. Her conservatism meant that other Mormon women took the lead on women's rights—although the precedents set by her religious practices remain a source of inspiration for Mormon feminists.

Beecher experiments with various methodologies in the rest of these essays allowing us to observe the historian in process. "Eliza of Ohio: The Early Years"

(1974) and "Leonora, Eliza and Lorenzo: An Affectionate Portrait of the Snow Family" (1980), revisit Eliza Snow's formative years and family relations. Successive frontier settings shaped a strong-willed survivor who would advocate woman's traditional sphere while trespassing its boundaries. "Three Women and the Life of the Mind" (1975), "The Overland Diaries of Eliza R. Snow" (1983), and most recently "Inadvertent Disclosure: Autobiography in the Poetry of Eliza R. Snow" (1990), return to Snow's writings to investigate her inner life, intellectual growth, and external world. Of the latter essay, Beecher states in her helpful introduction that although the prose accounts of the early era are "quite distant in tone," the poems contain "clues to the inner turmoil of the woman" (p. 2).

That turmoil was apparently calmed by a spiritual flowering during the exodus from Illinois and the journey across the plains. This epiphany and a growing sense of sisterhood are examined in greater depth in "Women in Winter Quarters" (1983), where Beecher shows the incipient form of the religious practices and social institutions that emerge once the community stabilized in the Salt Lake Valley. In the last essay, "The 'Leading Sisters': A Female Hierarchy in Nineteenth Century Mormon Society" (1982), Beecher traces the development of a feminine elite with a remarkable degree of authority pertaining to the "female portion" of Mormondom. This is the enduring legacy of Sister Snow as she shepherded the Relief Society through its most dynamic stages—a woman who rarely faltered while walking the fine line between obedience and independence.

The interpretive consistency of Beecher's essays provided an internal cohesion for *Eliza and Her Sisters* in spite of their methodological variation. In fact, Snow's complexity may have been better served by these diverse approaches than a more orderly structure. Ultimately Beecher's Sister Snow is not only more intriguing than earlier interpretations, she is more inspiring.

In Beecher's work to come, including a full biography, it would be helpful to see Eliza Snow's interaction with the outside world, visitors, or non-Mormons in Utah. Is she charismatic beyond her own community, or is who she is more powerful than what she is? How did she deal with conflict among Mormon women— could she be "reasoned with" as she advocated "reasoning with" those who held different ideas from hers? What does it mean that a childless woman was, and is, considered the "epitome of Latter-day Saint womanhood"? And on a lighter note: did Eliza Snow have a sense of humor? Historians of Mormon women eagerly await the answers to these and other questions.

LOLA VAN WAGENEN, of Charlotte, Vermont, is currently writing her dissertation, "Sister-wives and Suffragists: Polygamy and the Politics of Mormon Suffrage, at New York University. Her article, "In Their Own Behalf: The Politicization of Mormon Women and the 1870 Franchise," *Dialogue* 24 (Winter 1991): 31–43, was awarded a prize by the Women's Research Institute of Brigham Young University at the May 1992 Mormon History Association annual meeting.

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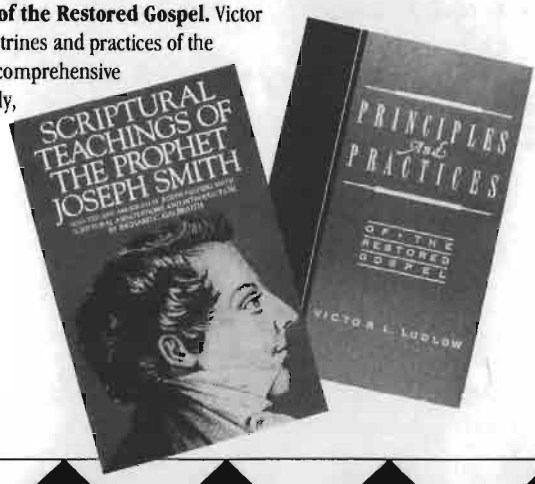

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